

MARCHING ON MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

L I B R A R Y

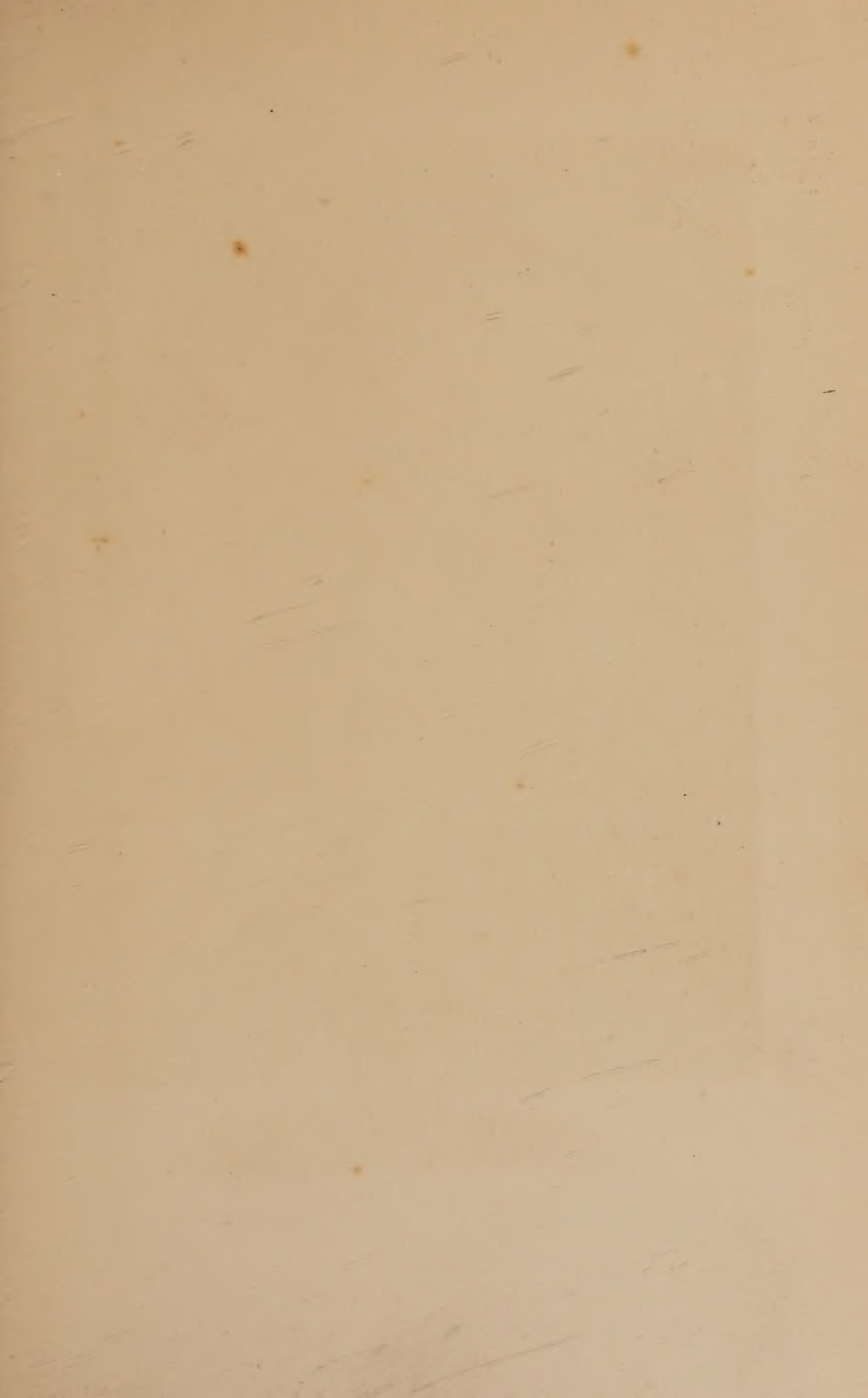


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CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

MARCHING ON
MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES
ON THE THRESHOLD OF
NINETY-TWO





THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN ON
MR. DEPEW'S NINETY-FIRST BIRTHDAY

MARCHING ON
MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES
ON THE THRESHOLD OF
NINETY-TWO

BY
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

NEW YORK : 1925

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Speech at the Twenty-eighth Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eighty-fifth Birthday, April 26, 1919	11
Speech at the Twenty-ninth Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eighty-sixth Birthday, April 29, 1920	
Speech at the Thirtieth Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eighty-seventh Birthday, April 30, 1921	57
Speech at the Thirty-first Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eighty-eighth Birthday, April 29, 1922	85
Speech at the Thirty-second Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Eighty-ninth Birthday, April 28, 1923	107
Speech at the Thirty-third Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Ninetieth Birthday, April 26, 1924	129
Speech at the Thirty-fourth Annual Dinner of the Montauk Club, in Celebration of Mr. Depew's Ninety-first Birthday, May 2, 1925.. .. .	148
Speech as President of the Pilgrims Society, at their Celebration of "British Day," Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, December 7, 1918	177
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to the Earl of Reading upon his Departure from America, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, May 1, 1919	185

CONTENTS—Continued

	PAGE
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Hotel Plaza, New York, November 22, 1919.. .. .	192
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, May 25, 1920	201
Speech at the Luncheon given to the Representatives of Great Britain and Holland, who were Attending the Celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, September 29, 1920	212
Speech at the Luncheon given by the Executive Committee of the Pilgrims Society to Sir Arthur Willert, of the British Foreign Office, Union League Club, New York, June 1, 1921	220
Tribute to Admiral Beatty, at the Dinner given in his Honor by the Pilgrims Society, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, October 27, 1921	226
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, Plaza Hotel, New York, April 21, 1922	234
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to Viscount Burnham, Bankers' Club, New York, January 23, 1923	242
Speech at the Dinner given to the Dean of Windsor by the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Ritz-Carlton, New York, February 1, 1923	248
Speech at the Luncheon given by the Pilgrims Society to the Professors in English from the English Universities, Bankers' Club, New York, June 14, 1923	256
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to the British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, Plaza Hotel, New York, January 15, 1924	262
Speech at the Luncheon given by the Pilgrims Society to Mr. Depew, Hotel Biltmore, New York, November 19, 1924	268

CONTENTS—Continued

	PAGE
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society in Honor of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, upon his Receiving the Woodrow Wilson Peace Prize, Plaza Hotel, New York, January 2, 1925	275
Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to Sir Robert Horne, Hotel Waldorf-Astoria, New York, October 23, 1925	284
Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the Pilgrims Society, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, January 22, 1919 ..	292
Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Plaza, New York, January 28, 1920	300
Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Ritz-Carlton, New York, January 26, 1921 ..	309
Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the Pilgrims Society, Bankers' Club, New York, January 25, 1922	316
Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the Pilgrims Society, Bankers' Club, New York, January 23, 1924	323
Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the Pilgrims Society, Bankers' Club, New York, January 28, 1925 ..	332
Speech on the Occasion of Conferring the Honorary Life Membership upon Mr. Depew by the Lawyers' Club of the City of New York, November 16, 1918	341
Speech before the Methodist Ministers' Association at the Memorial Service for Theodore Roosevelt, held at their Chapel, New York City, January 13, 1919	352
Speech at the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York in Honor of Mr. Depew's Eighty-fifth Birthday, May 1, 1919	375
Speech at the Luncheon given by the France-America Society to Ambassador Jusserand, Bankers' Club, New York, September 6, 1919	387
Speech at the Installation of Hon. Elihu Root as Honorary Member of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, May 4, 1922	396

CONTENTS—*Continued*

	PAGE
Tribute to M. Aristide Briand, Premier of France, at the Dinner given in his Honor by the Lotos Club of New York, November 27, 1921	408
Tribute to M. Maurice Casenave, General Secretary of the French Delegation to the Disarmament Conference; Law- yers' Club, New York, December 17, 1921	416
Speech at the National Republican Convention, held at Chi- cago, Ill., June 7-10, 1916	422
Speech at the National Republican Convention, held at Chi- cago, Ill., June 8-12, 1920	432

BIRTHDAY SPEECHES

Speech at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Dinner of
the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration
of Mr. Depew's Eighty-fifth Birthday, April
26, 1919.

(Mr. Depew's birthday is the twenty-third of April, but club conditions made change of date necessary.)

Mr. President and Friends:

We are rapidly getting on. Every year that we meet adds to the significance, the originality and the uniqueness of this entertainment. We have so long passed the twenty-fifth, that we may look with some hope to the golden jubilee, which of all anniversaries that mark happy unions is the most cheerful and significant.

There is great dispute among historians as to the age of the world; that is, of the period during which human beings have inhabited it. When I was a boy, the calculation of Bishop Usher of six thousand years was universally accepted. Then Darwin upset all calculations and settled beliefs by tracing us back to the monkey. No one could tell when the simian lost his tail, walked upright and developed human intelligence. Later explorations, however, have aroused almost international antagonisms as to which country possesses the oldest hu-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

man skull. The last contribution has been the unearthing of the home of the gray matter of a citizen who walked the earth thirty millions of years ago. Now thirty millions is a long period. Few of us have ever given thought to how many of the thirty millions are so distinguished, as several single years in our historic period. Those years are very few. The birth of Christ is the most significant in its influence upon modern history and life. In human affairs, the assassination of Caesar is felt today. When we come to more modern times, Magna Charta, which was forced from King John at Runnymede, is the foundation of our liberties. Waterloo marks another, because while it destroyed the ambitions of one of the most dangerous of conquerors, it destroyed also representative government and restored autocracy on the continent of Europe. All these epoch-making years, with their influence upon succeeding centuries, are comparatively of little account compared with the year since we met here twelve months ago.

As never before, the whole world was involved in the tragedy of a war which reached every continent and covered the seven seas; the most civilized and most barbarous peoples were equally involved. After three years of struggle and sacrifice beyond parallel and beyond imagination, the issue had become clearly defined. It was autocracy or self-government. It was a lawless power with ruthless

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

methods, conquering and governing the world, or a survival and expansion of civil and religious liberty and the sovereignty of peoples at liberty to work out their own destiny.

There had been two conferences of world-wide importance, and both held at Potsdam. The one was in 1914, when the German General Staff induced the Kaiser to declare war and when the German people without any distinction of party, autocrats, democrats, socialists and anarchists, danced in the streets and hailed with almost insane joy the prospect of conquering and looting the world. The other was a second conference, with the Kaiser, the General Staff and the representatives of the civil power, held at Potsdam in 1918. Things had not gone well with the great military machine. Unexpected opposition had occurred and undreamed of new forces had entered the field on the side of liberty, civilization and humanity. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey were still unshaken and united, but Russia had been crushed and Great Britain, France and Italy were nearly at the end of their resources. A new power, however, of unlimited resources in men and money had entered the field. The United States was heart and soul on the side which represented its own traditions, its own liberties, its own development, and in the ultimate result, possibly its own existence. The unexpected and unbelievable had happened in the acceptance by the people of the

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

United States of the universal drafting of its people. Without any disturbance, any riots or any protest worth considering, nine millions of young men between twenty and thirty were on the army lists. The draft had demonstrated that if extended as it was in the warring countries to forty-five and fifty, there was a potential power which was resistless and overwhelming.

When we last met here, 750,000 Americans had landed in France, but they had not the training which military experts think essential for the modern soldier. In fact, by the German Military Staff and by all European military men, their power was in their possibilities and not in their present condition. But at the Potsdam Conference, the Military Staff and the Kaiser said, "We must strike before the American power can arrive and be disciplined; the situation is such that we must risk everything on a final blow." The whole force of Germany and her Allies started on the 28th of March to crush the British and French. They were in overwhelming numbers as to men and material. The British, constantly retreating, lost a quarter of a million in heroic efforts to stem the tide and prevent their reaching the Channel ports; the French were slowly driven back to the gates of Paris. Foch said to an intimate friend, "Our boasted reserves do not exist; we have everything in the battle line and we can muster only 600,000 effective bayonets." By

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

that time, there had arrived two millions of American soldiers, of whom 1,100,000 were ready for duty under Gen. Pershing. This was in July, I think the 20th. Foch and his generals, British and Italian, said, "If only this 1,100,000 were trained, but they are not." Pershing said, "For the purpose of an attack, these 1,100,000 American boys are equal to the best troops in the world; trust us." Foch's faith was equal to the crisis. American troops were brigaded with British and French, and a large section was left for their individual protection. Foch gave the order to advance; the American troops surpassed all that Pershing had predicted, and never paused, never halted, never turned back once in that unequalled battle of all the centuries, which lasted from dawn to dawn, day after day, until the Rhine was reached and the German armies defeated. The great victory was won, the power of autocracy was shattered and the Kaiser in flight and exile.

Such is the momentous year whose history surpasses all histories, whose achievements are beyond that of all centuries and whose results are felt in all capitals, in the homes of all civilized peoples, in the tents of the Bedouins on the desert, in the huts of the Eskimos and the barbarians of Africa.

The year gave the supreme command to Marshal Foch. It is a common remark that in every crisis in human affairs, some supreme genius has arisen who controlled the situation, but wonderful as are

the deeds and fascinating as is the story of these great conquerors and state architects of the past, none had the task and the responsibility and the power of Marshal Foch. He commanded a battle line a thousand miles long, from the Channel, along the frontiers of Belgium and Italy, and another thousand in Asia and Africa. Sitting in his office with his maps, he had to prevent Austrian reinforcements being sent into Bulgaria, Bulgarian reinforcements being sent into Turkey, German reinforcements being sent into Italy, and so always at the auspicious moment the telegrams went forth to the British in Mesopotamia, to Gen. Allenby in Palestine, to Gen. D'Esperey on the borders of Bulgaria and Serbia, to the Italians along the Piave, to the British on the right, to the French on the left, to the Americans in the center, all facing the Kaiser's hosts—"Advance"! Here is the marvel. On that wide-flung battle front, never before equalled in length, in the distances of objectives or in the races engaged, every one of these forces as it received from the master mind this order, struck a successful blow. There was no failure anywhere, but victory everywhere. The tremendous forces of autocracy, German, Turkish, Bulgarian, Austrian, one after another, crumbled and surrendered, and then fell the citadel when the armistice was signed. The wooden statue of Hindenburg, of gigantic proportions, still stands in the park at Berlin, and is

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

the only remaining monument of that chief of the armies of Germany and her Allies, but the fame of Marshal Foch does not rest on statues of wood or brass or marble. It will ever remain in the gratitude of the freed peoples of the earth.

It was not wholly for humanity that we entered this war, because if that had been our sole object, we would have joined Great Britain and France when Belgium was invaded, and would not have hesitated an hour when the *Lusitania* was sunk. It was when we were ordered off the high seas, our commerce was prohibited, our citizens were murdered, our sovereignty was assailed and our future safety imperilled that we declared war.

The dramatic and historic pictures of our eventful year surpass all other masterpieces in the gallery. Great truths are often enforced when contrasted with their opposites, so the lessons of history are in contrast. On the 18th of January, 1871, France lay crushed at the feet of the Kaiser and Bismarck. She was devastated, impoverished; her two richest and fairest provinces taken from her and an indemnity imposed which was intended, as Bismarck said, "To bleed France white." To emphasize the triumph over bleeding and agonized France, the union of the German states into an empire and the crowning of the King of Prussia as its emperor, with supreme authority, was staged for the palace at Versailles. On the 18th of January, 1918, the Peace Confer-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

ence met at the same place. Its meeting was the most wonderful triumph of that great maxim, that "truth crushed to earth shall rise again, the eternal years of God are hers." Where the Emperor of Germany was crowned fifty years before, where the purpose was evolved to complete in time the conquest of France and the destruction of representative government in the world, there assembled the representatives of the victors for liberty, to reverse the verdict of fifty years before, reverse the verdict of Waterloo, reverse the verdict of the Holy Alliance, and to make the world safe for democracy, but equally important, to make democracy safe for the world.

It is the frequent charge against age that it is too conservative, that it holds fast too hard to the things of the past and has not the vision of the future. I know of no word in our language that has been so misused, so abused, so hitched to the stars, as "vision." At eighty-five, my vision is quite as clear, quite as enthusiastic and certainly as optimistic, as it was when I faced the world on leaving Yale College. There is this difference, however: I did not then value the past as I do now. I was then willing to throw overboard more things than I think now the Ship of State can afford to lose.

We hear much in the present controversy, whose echoes come from every land, of the Monroe Doctrine. It is astonishing how few in our own or in

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

any country have given it much thought, or appreciate its significance and its history. It is always of exceeding value to trace the footsteps of the pioneers, and to see if they built so wisely and so well that we cannot safely ignore their work. The American policy of isolation, if we may call it that, came from Washington in his famous warning against permanent alliances with European nations, and the equally famous protest of Thomas Jefferson against entangling alliances. Washington kept us out of war in 1793 by a proclamation of neutrality which changed and settled international law. He emphasized this in his wonderful Farewell Address when he said, "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or very remote relation, hence they must be engaged in frequent controversy, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concern." The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial laws to have with them as little political connection as possible. Jefferson announced the seeds of the Monroe Doctrine when he warned the British minister that if France, which then owned Louisiana, should close the mouth of the Mississippi, the United States would go to war and throw away the scabbard.

1820 was a revolutionary year. With more or less success, the liberal elements revolted in every continental country. In most cases they were

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

ruthlessly put down by the armies of autocracy. Then the allied powers held frequent conventions and made numerous treaties, the final result of which was the Holy Alliance by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, three countries governed by absolute monarchs, and on the theory of divine right. In that famous treaty they said, "The high contracting powers, being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with monarchical principles as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people is with the divine right, engage mutually in the most solemn manner to use all their powers to put an end to the system of representative government in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known."

The Holy Alliance at once laid plans to use the whole of their armed forces, by sea and land, for the enforcement of these ideas. The Bourbons were restored on the thrones of France and of Spain and of the Italian kingdoms. The Spanish colonies of South America had revolted and formed independent republics on the lines of the government of the United States. It was decided to overthrow these republics and restore the arbitrary and autocratic power of Spain. In the evolution of liberty in the British Isles, Great Britain was no longer in sympathy with autocracy; she had a representative government. A very wise and farsighted states-

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

man, George Canning, was her Prime Minister. He proposed to President Monroe that the United States and Great Britain should form an alliance for the purpose of protecting not only the South American republics, but the whole Western Hemisphere against the aggressions and usurpations of the Holy Alliance. He proposed to put the whole of the war power of Great Britain behind it. President Monroe was not a great man, but a very laborious and sensible statesman. He had old fashioned ideas and one of them was the value in calling to his aid the advice and experience of the two living ex-presidents, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. So he submitted the question to them and their answer was emphatic and unanimous in favor of the project. Jefferson, with that clarity of expression which distinguished the author of the Declaration of Independence, said to Monroe, "The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us, and never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs; America,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe." President Monroe said, "In the wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so; it is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense." Prime Minister Canning was so delighted that he said to the House of Commons, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

Thus was born the Monroe Doctrine, from the principles of which the United States has not changed in a hundred years. A brief review of this consistent attitude is at present interesting. The effect of the declaration was to stop at once the effort of the Holy Alliance to overthrow the South American republics. The British navy during all the early period was the impregnable protection of the Monroe Doctrine. It was first seriously questioned by Louis Napoleon when he sent Maximilian and a French army to Mexico. The United States was in the midst of civil war, but President Lincoln, through his Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, vigorously protested. When the Civil War ended, however, a veteran army was assembled on the Rio Grande. Mr. Seward again, and this

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

time peremptorily, demanded the withdrawal of the French army from Mexico, with the statement that Gen. Sheridan was on the border. Louis Napoleon and his army immediately embarked, Maximilian was overthrown and the autonomy and sovereignty of Mexico were restored.

During President Cleveland's administration, a dispute arose between Great Britain and Venezuela in regard to the boundary line between that country and the British possessions in South America, involving about 30,000 square miles of territory. President Cleveland demanded that the question should be submitted to arbitration. The British government declined, whereupon President Cleveland intervened and sent a message to Congress stating that this was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and that he intended to appoint a commission to decide for himself what was the line between British Guiana and Venezuela and asking for an appropriation. He said to Congress, "In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow." Congress practically unanimously approved the action of President Cleveland. Lord Salisbury, the British Premier, at once agreed to an arbitration. The decision of the arbitration was in favor of Great Britain, but the principle of the Monroe Doctrine was triumphantly vindicated.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Bismarck and the Kaiser were always bitterly hostile to the Monroe Doctrine. They were determined if possible to break it up. Germany several times endeavored to induce other European powers to join with her in such an effort, even if it led to war. During the administration of President Roosevelt, the Kaiser decided to test the question by an attempt to seize Venezuelan territory because of some claims of a subject against that country. Venezuela at once agreed to arbitrate. Germany refused. President Roosevelt, through John Hay, Secretary of State, then intervened and insisted upon arbitration. The Kaiser again refused. Roosevelt then threatened open hostility. The arbitration was instantly agreed to.

The United States was asked by other nations to join in an effort to stop the slave trade. A treaty was finally agreed upon on this subject, but the treaty was so worded as to specifically deny that it was in any sense an alliance. Again in President Cleveland's time the atrocities in the Congo Free State aroused the indignation of the world. The United States sent delegates to the conference, but the President said, "The delegates attended on behalf of the United States on the understanding that their part should be merely deliberative, without binding character as far as the United States was concerned. This reserve was due to the indisposition of this government to share in any disposal by an

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

international congress of questions in remote foreign territory." In 1890, American delegates also participated in an international conference at Brussels for the suppression of the slave trade in Africa, but the Senate attached to the treaty a protocol emphatically declaring that the United States had no interest whatever in the possessions of protectorates established or claimed on the African continent by the other powers.

In the final treaty signed by the American delegates at the Hague Peace Conference in 1899, the American delegates appended this declaration: "Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with or entangling itself in the political questions or policies or internal administration of any foreign state, nor shall anything contained in said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

In 1905, the Kaiser inaugurated what had been his fixed policy since he came to the throne, a hostile movement to humiliate France. He expected that no other nation would interfere, and that he could then complete the conquest of 1871. His pretext was conditions in Morocco. To avoid a universal war, Great Britain and the United States

intervened. On the part of the United States, it was purely a moral force, but the effect of the intervention was that the German Kaiser had to satisfy himself with succeeding in demanding that the French Foreign Minister, Declassé, should be dismissed, but he did not dare declare war. During the conference where the treaty was agreed to which settled the controversy, the United States delegates signed the treaty only with the understanding, as they phrased it, "that the United States would assume no obligation or responsibility for the enforcement thereof." When the treaty came to the Senate, that body added a declaration as part of its act and ratification: "Resolved further, that the Senate, as a part of this ratification, understands that the participation of the United States in the Algeirias conference and in the formation and adoption of the general act and protocol which resulted therefrom, was for the sole purpose of preserving and increasing its commerce in Morocco, the protection as to life, liberty and property of its citizens residing or traveling therein, and of aiding by its friendly offices and efforts, in removing friction and controversy which seemed to menace the peace between powers signatory with the United States to the treaty of 1880, all of which are on terms of amity with this Government; and without purpose to depart from the traditional American foreign policy which forbids participation by the United

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

States in the settlement of political questions which are entirely European in their scope."

It will thus be seen that both on the part of the Executive and of the Senate, there has been for a century the most jealous observance of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine and of a determination to use all the powers of the United States for its protection and enforcement. It has become a habit almost universal in Europe to sneer at it and call it childish and provincial, and a growing party in the United States who claim that because of our position as a world power and our entrance into this great war, it has become practically obsolete. It is not possible that the deliberate and careful expressions and actions of succeeding generations of American statesmen of all political parties have suddenly become obsolete and ancient history. We are three thousand miles by ocean from Europe, double that distance from Asia and nearly double that distance again from the British possessions on the other side of the globe. Though space and time have been enormously reduced by the cable and the wireless, nevertheless the Western Hemisphere is still the Western Hemisphere; the East is still the East, and Europe is and will remain for generations a seething caldron of racial differences.

I may be permitted a personal reminiscence as showing the progress of public sentiment. In 1896, the New York State Bar Association asked me to

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

deliver the annual address at their meeting. I selected as a subject an international tribunal of arbitration, with the widest judicial powers, to maintain the peace of the world. The question was a novel one then, but the association immediately acted, appointed a committee, drafted an elaborate plan and sent it to Washington for action. Nothing was done about it.

With the tremendous moral force of the English speaking peoples acting in unity, with France and Italy in full harmony, we have a resistless power for the preservation of peace, promotion of justice and the protection of liberty in the world. They possess economic resources, offensive and defensive, which acting together would make resistance ruinous to aggressive nations. We all want peace. It is the one almost agonizing cry of the peoples of all nations. A peace that will be permanent; a peace that will prevent war; a peace that will leave the United States free to develop its destiny upon the lines of its foundation and growth and the American Continent, with its republics and sovereignties, equally safe and sure.

We are an intensely idealistic people, and our distinction is that we are also most practical. Three elements conquered the wilderness, settled the continent and built up sovereign States to add to the strength and power of the Federal Union. These three elements were idealism, prac-

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ticality and individualism. The commonplace of our national development is the energy and enterprise of the boys leaving the old homestead, probably taking with them for their life work the sweethearts with whom they have grown up from childhood. When they settle, the little community immediately builds the church and the schoolhouse. Some one of these boys discovers the possibilities there are in his neighborhood and with the utilization of nature's resources builds up prosperous communities. He makes many blades to grow where they never did before; finds mines in the mountains and oil in the bosom of the earth which have lain there for unnumbered centuries utterly useless. His genius, energy and daring furnishes homes and living conditions for multitudes of people; he has an intense love for his country; it is an absorbing passion. If it is in danger, he enlists for its defense, or sends his boys; he is fond of the state which he has helped to make prosperous, but has a never-failing love for the old commonwealth, the old village and the old homestead where he was born. One of the first evidences of his independence when he has had time to idealize is to buy the old farm, make comfortable the old people, help out the lame and inefficient and introduce upon its wasted acres model farming and modern improvements, which will inspire hope and ambition over the entire neighborhood.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

There is a large and growing opinion that such men instead of being benefactors, are the dangers of their time. The new philosophy says it is the community and not the individual which should discover these resources, dig these mines, find these oil wells, discover the value that can be put into arid lands and the power that can be developed from running water. It does not satisfy these objectors that none of these vast opportunities have been utilized until this genius came along.

We are now having more sharply defined every day internationalism against nationalism, syndicalism against individualism and humanity against patriotism. Our old idea of humanity was to help, to sacrifice if necessary, but never to impair our sovereignty, our Constitution or our power. Our fortunes were ready to be contributed to calamities of every kind, not only in our own country, but all over the world. Without desiring or claiming any gain of any kind, we have been ready to spend treasure and blood to redeem Cuba, to restore and prevent the exploitations of neighboring commonwealths, like San Domingo and Hayti and some of the nationalities of Central America.

The new cult, which can see no boundary lines, no national monuments, call themselves forward men and men of vision. They say humanity is above country, and that that country better fulfils its mission which devotes its resources, its energies

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

and its genius for government of the whole world, rather than to its own country and race. Its ideas of humanity, with international sacrifices, do not yet embrace with equal cordiality the yellow, red and black races. We are warned against provincialism, narrow-mindedness, littleness and selfishness, but provincialism was at Bunker Hill and Yorktown, and made us what we are; it was at Chateau-Thierry and Sedan, and saved what we have. We idealize Washington and Lincoln to the point of almost eliminating their human qualities in magnifying their wonderful gifts. We have no objection to any other nation doing the same for their benefactors, but they are not ours. We have an ardent love for the old Constitution which has served us so well for one hundred and thirty years; we almost worship the Declaration of Independence, because we have made good and have experienced the blessings of the principles which it enunciates.

It is in human nature unrestricted to run to extremes. Autocracy suppresses newspapers, imprisons critics and kills revolutionaries. Socialism or internationalism concentrates all power in the hands of a few, silences the press, destroys ballot boxes, mercilessly kills without trial any real or supposed opponents, takes over all property and ends all enterprise. We are against Bolshevism, Socialism and Internationalism; we maintain, and

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

within our limits we fight to the death for Americanism.

From the dawn of the story of human development in every stage of progress, the people have sought leadership. The tribe had its chief, the family its head and the collective tribes their king. The beginning of democracy was the discovery, after hard experience with tyranny, that this leader, whatever he might be called, was not a divinity. The seed of liberalism was the ability to turn him out and select his successor. The great example of civil and religious liberty is in the governments of the English-speaking peoples. In all essentials the self-governing colonies of Great Britain have institutions formed upon our model. All have, for the time being, an acknowledged leadership.

The two most powerful rulers in the world today are the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. The President is elected for four years, while the Prime Minister holds his power at the will and pleasure of the House of Commons. In a broad way Great Britain's democracy intrusts all power to its representatives in Parliament and makes its king a figurehead. We reverse the process by granting great power to our Presidents, and in practice the Congress is a figurehead.

We are having the finest exhibition of the vigor, elasticity and momentum of our institutions. The President and the Secretary of State have been in

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

France as members of the most powerful and important body which ever assembled and whose responsibilities tax every faculty to the utmost of its members. Our Secretary of the Navy has been in London and received every hospitality and attention from our British brethren while studying their navy secrets. Our Secretary of War has been much abroad with his colleagues. The senators and members of the House of Representatives are scattered to their homes. The Supreme Court is about to adjourn, and yet this old machine of ours, its three great divisions, the Executive, Legislative and Judicial absent, is moving on and apparently doing its work as well as ever. It seems to enforce Thomas Jefferson's famous maxim "That government is best which governs least," and also Jefferson's other famous maxim "Avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations."

In all my long experience I have never known of a document which has had such strange adventures as the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was prepared and unanimously agreed to by the great Congress in Paris, and was brought to us as perfection, no part of it could be changed. The President and ex-President Taft gave it their approval. Mr. Taft's approval was so strong that he proposed at the Metropolitan Opera House that it should be embodied in the Treaty so that the Senate could not change or reject it unless they defeated

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

also the Treaty and threw the world into chaos. But soon afterwards Mr. Taft found that it needed amendment and so cabled to the Congress. President Lowell of Harvard, its most scholarly advocate, found that it ought to be rewritten to be understood. Senators Knox, Reed, Borah and many of their colleagues rejected most of it and proposed substitutes, while Mr. Root after an exhaustive study finds that it can be made workable only by incorporating into it six amendments which he proposes. Mr. William Jennings Bryan suggests several changes as necessary. Most, if not all of its advocates, have asked that it be interpreted and clarified. The story of the League of Nations is the experience of all historic charters. They must pass through the ordeal of debate in legislative halls and the press.

We entered into a League of Nations at The Hague and Algeciras but pledged only our moral power and carefully safeguarded the Monroe Doctrine. The war has enlarged our responsibilities, but our situation is not the same as our Allies. We present no claims, we ask no indemnities or territory, we assume the whole of our sacrifices of men and money as our contribution to the safety of the world. In joining the League, we do not expect to surrender our traditional policy as to our own affairs or those of the Western Hemisphere. The United States asks nothing but will give much. The

TWENTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Hague failure demonstrated that the value of international agreements is more dependent on faith than force. We will stand by our agreements and put behind them our power as well as our honor. We have shown in our contribution of four millions of soldiers and twenty-four billions of treasure up to the moment of victory that there is no limit to our idealism or sacrifices for right and justice, but we wish to reserve the power to be ourselves the judges of its exercise.

The desire for peace is unanimous, the weariness of war is universal. We want first of all a treaty which will make it impossible for those who brought on this war to try another one. We want a League of Nations which will not require an amendment to our Constitution, nor the reversal of those policies which have made us so great, prosperous and happy. Mr. Wilson coined a happy phrase when he said that for over forty years France had stood upon the frontiers of freedom. This is eminently and tragically true. Except for her might, her awful sacrifices, her soul and her spirit, the world might have been wrecked. Old conditions may return, old perils may revive, but we will never again permit France to stand alone on the frontiers of freedom.

Speech at the Twenty-ninth Annual Dinner of
the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration
of Mr. Depew's Eighty-sixth Birthday, April
29, 1920.

Mr. President and Friends:

I have often been impressed by the influence of a single remark made by a person of note upon the destinies of nations, upon the lives of individuals and upon the estimate of character. These epochal maxims are not the product of professional phrase-makers, but as a rule are occasional and unthought opinions which have had a meaning far beyond the thought of the author. A few maxims of Napoleon have guided the studies and plans of campaign of distinguished soldiers. "The Lord is on the side of the strongest battalions" has been the policy of the Bolsheviki in fighting the enemies of the Soviet government. Having the interior line, and that line a very strong one, they could leave detachments to guard strategical points and concentrate in overwhelming force on a single objective. In that way they have defeated and crushed the armies of Kolchak, Denekin and Judenitch and are masters of their situation. The practical piety of Cromwell's famous order, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry," has been the salvation of many an army. The phrases which have led to revolutions and captured

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

the imaginations of peoples and advanced their liberties are many. If all these phrases and their results could be put by a graphic writer into a volume, they would make a fascinating story of modern history, and if in a similar way the oracles of Delphi could be presented and their results, we should have an epitome of classical times.

During the panic of 1873, I left the Union Trust Co., which had just closed its doors, with one of its leading directors and stockholders who had in the panic lost his large fortune. He was a client of mine, but his difficulties were beyond advice or help. He strode along Broadway with his hat over his eyes and his turned-up coat collar partially covering his face. Opposite Trinity Church, he said to me, "It is very hard, after being rich for over forty years, to walk under a poor man's hat and overwhelmed with debt." When we reached the Astor House a few blocks further on, he threw back his coat, cocked his hat on the back of his head, took a deep and reassuring breath and fairly shouted, "Chauncey, the world always has gone around; it always will go around." It did so for him. While he then was at the bottom, in a few years he was on top, and one of the few who out of that catastrophe regained his fortune. This remark has been of infinite help to me all my life, and to others to whom I have repeated it. I have had my ups and downs and when the "down" was

hard enough to depress my spirits and nearly wreck my hopes, light and courage have come from the remark and the example of my old friend. "The world always has gone around; it always will go around."

Speaking of ups and downs, nothing pleases me so much as to meet a genuine philosopher. He is as likely to be driving a truck or to be a conductor, a fireman, a locomotive engineer or a farmer as to sit in the seats of the mighty with a world-wide reputation as a university professor. Going up to my office one day after an absence of some time, I said to the elevator man, "Well, John, how are things going with you?" "Well," he answered, "Senator, like the rest of the world, I have my ups and downs."

The panic of 1873 and the recollections of it, start an interesting train of thought. We are reproducing in a way much the same situations as preceded that catastrophe. We came out of the Civil War with our national debt raised from less than a hundred millions to over three billions. Many were in doubt and few were optimistic as to our ability to stand the burden in taxation or ever to pay it. We successfully did both. We have come out of the present war with our national debt of a thousand millions increased to twenty-five billions. Are we that much richer; have we that much greater command of resources and ability to bear taxation than we had

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

from the close of the Civil War to make possible the practical extinguishment of our national debt? If so, and I think so, then the experiences of fifty years ago will happily be repeated in our future. But we did more than pay this debt. We rehabilitated a large section of the country which had been devastated by the war. We did more. We turned a hostile population into loyal and patriotic citizens, equally as earnest for the preservation and glory of the Union as those who had fought to preserve it. Our Civil War was followed by an era of unlimited speculation, the launching of innumerable both legitimate and fraudulent enterprises and the sudden accumulation of large fortunes. It was also marked by a tremendous rise in prices and wages. These results were due to an inflated currency, a rotten credit system and no control of banking privileges. When the craze had reached its peak or highest point, then came the crash. The panic of 1873 was one of the most disastrous in our whole history. The failure of banks and business firms was unprecedented and individual fortunes disappeared. It is a tribute to the optimism, the courage, the faith and resourcefulness of the American people that they recovered so speedily from this disaster and put their country in a better condition than ever before.

Among the victims of the panic was a close adviser and assistant to Commodore Vanderbilt. He

was one of the ablest men I ever knew. That he should have failed was a cause of great surprise. Commodore Vanderbilt, with his wonderful foresight, saw the coming storm, prepared for it, came out of it all right and helped many others. In the meantime, the man to whom I have referred had died of worry. Commodore Vanderbilt in the materialistic age of his activities was one of its most successful products. He owed his wonderful triumphs in the transportation field not only to his genius and foresight, but to his judgment of character and wisdom in selecting those who should manage his enterprises. Carnegie frequently ascribed his success to the choice of his lieutenants. In discussing with the Commodore the reasons for the failure of this one of the ablest of the men about him, he made this remark in regard to him: "He was the smartest man I ever knew, but he had a cog loose in his machinery." I have often thought since of the far-reaching significance of the Commodore's remark. I have seen the rise and fall of so many men whose rise could be accounted for, but whose fall astonished everybody. There was a cog loose in their machinery, and at a certain height of prosperity and responsibility, the machinery refused to function or functioned wrongly and the crash came.

The most remarkable instance of it in modern times is the ex-Emperor William of Germany. Many years ago, I was making a visit at Salzburg

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

in Austria. One afternoon there arrived the old Emperor William, then past ninety, with his grandson, William. I had the opportunity to meet and have a brief talk with the grandson, who impressed me as a young man of great ability and promise. His arrival at the throne seemed a long way off. His grandfather was apparently good for a hundred, while his father was in the prime of life and a man of unusual promise physically and intellectually. In a few months, however, both grandfather and father died, and William the grandson came to the throne. I remember an article written by one of the most eminent publicists of Germany after a few years of the Kaiser's reign, in which this writer said that the most fortunate thing that had ever happened to Germany was the inheritance of the sovereignty and of its power by a man who had the ability, the energy, industry and character to do most for Germany in the industrial crisis of the age. For a quarter of a century this prediction was fulfilled. Bismarck said to a friend of mine, "We must have colonies to take care of the German cradle, otherwise an overcrowded population will prove our undoing." The young Emperor decided that the population could be cared for by increasing industries, and so with his power and prestige he stimulated the manufactories, farms and mines, he created conditions where employment was seeking help and where the emigration that was

depopulating the country was stopped by better opportunities at home. To take care of this enormous output from German industries, he created a merchant marine which was forging rapidly to the first rank and carrying German commercial agents and German products to every port and into the territory of every nationality on the globe. Germany was gradually monopolizing the markets which had previously been held by Great Britain, France and in a measure the United States. It needed only time and patience for German enterprise, German capital and German production to have the mastery of the trade of the world. In the meantime, the Kaiser, as is shown by the famous Willie-Nickie letters, had secured the dominating influence over the weak Czar of Russia and at the Court of Austria.

In the story of kings and rulers, I can find no parallel when we estimate the achievement with its opportunities and prospects. He was sure of the loyalty of his people; he was certain of accomplishing results which might pass him down to posterity as the greatest constructive sovereign of all times.

Here was an opportunity entirely original, never before presented to any ruler. The achievements of the masters of the world have been singularly uniform and monotonous. From Alexander the Great to Napoleon there was little change in methods or ambitions. Expansion and sovereignty were

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

to be gained by conquest. The Emperor had been winning these industrial victories for his people for a quarter of a century. At the same time, he had built up the most formidable military machine ever known and was rapidly adding to it a naval armament which had already reached the second class. He was obsessed with the Hohenzollern traditions from Frederick the Great. He did not grasp the opportunities which were possible in the future from the commercial and industrial development of Germany. To be the industrial ruler of the world was not near so spectacular as to be its conqueror. The industrial ruler of the world could repeat, but in another way, the ancient saying that all roads lead to Rome. They did lead to Rome in the triumphal processions of the victor or the emperor, with the captives in his train, with the loot of nations, all of which represented devastated territories, destroyed cities and villages and hecatombs of peoples slain in battle or dead from misery and starvation. The victories of the industrial ruler would have been that German steel, the output of German factories in textile fabrics; the wonders of German chemistry would sail over the seven seas and bring the tribute of commercial success to the Fatherland from all the continents of the world. With every expansion would be greater employment, larger industrial centers, more homes and more opportunities for the intelligent, the enterprising, the ambitious and the

efficient to reach positions of leadership and influence. But for the chief ruler there would be no great armies to review, no great functions distinguished for the glitter of their jewelry, their gold braid and their uniforms. No exaggeration of the continuing surrender of the civil to the military authority. The German officer who ran his sword through the lame shoemaker at Zabern, because he failed to notice and salute, would not receive the applause of the army, a complimentary telegram from the Crown Prince and praise from the ruling classes. On the contrary, he would be tried as any other criminal for plain murder.

This industrial ruler would have to his credit in the final accounting the blessings which had come to unnumbered millions because of the expansion of industries and trade, but the Emperor, when he reached the giddy height of power and possibility, saw only the glittering armor and the flashing sword. In a military government the moral sense is atrophied, paralyzed, so we had the declaration that solemn treaties and obligations are only scraps of paper, and the end justifies the means. The Kaiser could not grasp the change which has taken place among the peoples of the world in the slow development of Christian democracy. We often hear the criticism that after two thousand years of trial, Christianity is a failure. These critics say the Kingdom of God which was promised has not

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

materialized. This war is a tragic proof of its materialization. The militaristic kingdoms of Germany, Austria and Turkey had faith only in the sword, and that faith believed it could subdue the world. It failed to recognize the idealism which has come through Christian democracy.

A great revival of religion swept over the United States over a hundred years ago, through the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. His thunders which threatened people into repentance and conversion, were of the terrors of hell. Lurid descriptions of its eternal fires and roasting sinners. The pulpit today preaches heaven and hope. Conversions come from anticipation of enjoying the blessings of the heavenly home and its reunions for eternity. The idealism of these conditions has grown under the armor of militarism. We will work as never before for success according to our ambitions, but there is a point of peril where we will sacrifice everything on a question of honor and responsibility. The Kaiser could not grasp that the scrap of paper to him was a solemn treaty to be carried out at any cost by Great Britain and France. The German press, pulpit, universities and schools had taught that the American people were given over to the worship of the almighty dollar and would sell their souls for gain; they could not grasp that the American people had risked everything for independence in 1776 and everything for the Union of the States

and preservation of the Republic in 1861, and had made war for pure sentiment to rescue a neighboring people in 1898, and that beneath all their materialism they were the most sentimental and idealistic people in the world.

The Kaiser is an exile, German militarism is destroyed, and this old man must pass a miserable existence amidst the ruins of his ambitions, his achievements and the greatest opportunities ever offered to a ruler. There was a cog loose in his machinery.

There are two other significant examples. The greatest constructive brain of his period was Bismarck. Militarism destroyed his moral insight. To get an excuse to make war upon France, he forged a telegram and lied to his emperor. There may be sudden gains or successes from a lie, but it always has its retributions. A lie leads to other lies and ultimately to disaster. The enormous indemnity in gold which Bismarck exacted from France corrupted Germany. The conquest of Alsace and Lorraine introduced into the empire a hostile population and outside of the empire an unquenchable thirst for revenge. The old Austrian Emperor, after sixty years of reign, wanted to pass the rest of his period in peace. His ambitious foreign minister wanted war. He lied to the Emperor and so induced the aged monarch to mobilize his armies and attack Serbia. Today there are fifty millions

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

of dead, there are devastated territories and ruined systems of government and human suffering beyond any ever known in the world in magnitude and acuteness. The nations are groaning under debts which will burden their people for generations. All the result of the lie of that prime minister to the Emperor. There was a cog loose in their mental machinery which prevented wise functioning in both Bismarck and the Austrian prime minister.

Happily for the United States, we have had three practical idealists. The most dangerous of men is an idealist in power who is carried away by his ambitions or his dreams, without the governing wheel of wisdom and common sense. The most wonderful of practical idealists was George Washington. He was the only man of his time who could have successfully carried through the American revolution, who could have successfully brought warring factions and state-rights enthusiasts to a Constitution so wise that it meets the needs of the country to-day, as it has during one hundred and thirty-one years, and is the only instrument of government which has been unchanged during that period. He was the only man who could have guided the young republic through the initial processes of formation and administration until it was placed upon a firm foundation. Then laying aside ambition, he could retire to his farm and lead the life of a private citi-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

zen. He was the first practical idealist of his age. His mental machinery functioned perfectly.

Duke D'Aumale, one of the sons of Louis Philippe, at one time King of France, told me that when his father was an exile in this country during the French Revolution, he was a guest at Mt. Vernon. General Washington said to him that he had never done anything which he regretted, or said anything which he cared to recall, and when his father was King, and was urged by his ministers or his sons to take some action, he would often refuse by saying, "If I do that, I cannot say for myself what General Washington said for himself." But there was a cog loose in Louis Philippe's machinery and he lost his throne.

The greatest practical idealist of his time was Abraham Lincoln. He selected for his cabinet the ablest men there were in the country, and from the different great parties. None of them had a mind which ran on the same track with Lincoln's mind. Nevertheless, he utilized the great abilities of each of them and so coördinated and administered their combined talents for the success of his practical idealism that he saved the Union and placed it upon eternal foundations.

The greatest practical idealist of our time was Theodore Roosevelt. When four hundred years of effort had failed to unite the Atlantic with the Pacific, the waters of the two great oceans met in

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

the Panama Canal, and the East and West were united by his practical idealism. He saw the possibilities of universal war in the conflict then raging between Russia and Japan. The two nations were brought together at Portsmouth and a peace was declared of infinite value not only to Russia and Japan, but to the whole world, by the practical idealism of Theodore Roosevelt. So he brought peace to the industrial world and safety to the financial world by the same practical idealism. He first saw the danger to the whole world, and especially to the United States, in the military aggressiveness of the German Empire. He aroused the American people to the necessity for preparedness. By his earnest appeal and by the confidence which his countrymen reposed in him, he brought to the front, above economic and materialistic considerations, the underlying idealism in the American character. Our entrance into this war, though late, nevertheless so effectual, and the victory which saved civilization and liberty, were all largely due to the foresight, the courage, the invincible energy and the practical idealism of Theodore Roosevelt.

This year is singularly rich in centennials. We are the heirs of all the ages. Centennials teach us the value of our inheritance. Each as it occurs places before us what we have received from it, and after one hundred, or two hundred, or three hundred, or five hundred years, we can appraise its

value. Appreciation of the past and memory of how much we are indebted to it fades away in time. The generation of fifty years ago had almost forgotten the Revolution and what it meant. It was common to meet very intelligent people, especially among the younger, who knew little or nothing of the settlement of our country, of the origin of our Republic, of the struggle which made us a nation and of the heroes and statesmen who founded our institutions.

Fortunately our first centennial was of the Declaration of Independence on the fourth of July, 1776. The people then visualized in the word pictures painted by orators and editors, the scene in Independence Hall when the immortal document was signed. The country had an intellectual bath of the value of our liberties. Then came the celebration of a hundred years of the formation of our Constitution. It was little read or understood. There was a growing sentiment that it had outlived its usefulness, but as the celebrations progressed, the whole people grasped its wonderful power, its application of principles which are eternal and its demonstration that it is the only system of government which has survived while all others have met with innumerable changes or have been discredited.

Then came the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the first President of the United States. The figure of George Washington loomed

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

large and grew larger and more majestic as we more fully appreciated that he was in every way the Father of his Country. Then the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Supreme Court taught us the inestimable value of this innovation in a scheme of government. We understood that it was the keystone of our arch. It was fitting that there should have come among these memories a recognition of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. The liberal minds and adventurous spirits of earlier times who had grasped a true vision of liberty, civil and religious, were unable to realize or teach its blessings, under the overwhelming oppression of divine right, autocracy and militarism. The discovery of America opened a far distant virgin continent, where the ideas of civilization and freedom could develop and expand. The result is not only American liberty, but the liberalization of all governments, the overthrow of thrones and the establishment of representative power of the people on the ruins of the tyrannies of the past.

From the lessons of these various celebrations we re-established our Republic and we took the curse of slavery away from our Declaration of Independence in the War of the States. We rescued Cuba and gave her people self-determination and self-government and for the first time in all wars and all history, we raised an army of four millions of our

youth, and sent two millions of them across the Atlantic to rescue the world. They arrived just in time to join the heroic defenders of liberty of France, Great Britain and Italy. Thousands of our boys made the great sacrifice and lie on Flanders fields where the poppies blow, and billions of debt were cheerfully assumed and are being honorably met. This great adventure was absolutely unselfish, and for these sacrifices we ask no return except that the world should be better and the people have a wider and more generous opportunity for the enjoyment of all the things which make life worth living.

One of our richest manufacturers has said that history is bunk. And yet, except for what was celebrated in these centennials, this manufacturer's opportunity would never have come. Again there is a rapidly growing feeling of indifference or contempt for the past. I read addresses and articles condemning the education of our colleges and schools because they are not wholly devoted to methods of money making. I remember an instance of a brief contact between the past and the present. A college rowing crew were located at Peekskill-on-the-Hudson while they were training on the river. Passing up to their homes, they leaped on to the terrace of our home and began an active discussion of the past and present. One of them said, "The past can teach us nothing. My father is over seventy years old and I am twenty-one, but I know more than he does." My

TWENTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

father was sitting, according to custom, in the late afternoon, upon the piazza smoking his pipe and reading his newspaper. The young man turned around and said to him, "Well, old gentleman, what do you think of that?" My father replied, "I am thinking what a damn fool your father must be."

This year 1920 is an inspirational one. It is the year beyond all others when women are getting their rights and having full equality with men. It is also the centennial of Susan B. Anthony, to whom more than all others women are indebted for this progress and triumph. She was among the first to advocate temperance, and yet temperance societies refused to listen to her because Paul had said that women should be seen and not heard. He also made some heretical remarks about marriage. I am inclined to think that while Paul was the greatest teacher and the greatest preacher that ever lived, all his utterances were not inspired. Susan B. Anthony was assailed with universal bitterness because she demanded the same wage for the same work and of the same value for women as for men. She suffered persecution when she advocated votes for women, but her pure and lofty spirit sees on the one hundredth anniversary of her birth the triumph of all her efforts.

1920 is also the centennial of those great journalists, Charles A. Dana and Henry J. Raymond. When Dana was born the circulation of the

ard of the purchasing power of gold, or, in other words, the high cost of living, has been met in industrial activities by increasing salaries and wages. But the church and the school are starving. Thousands of preachers and teachers have been compelled to abandon their profession and engage in other pursuits. Our children must have the care, example and training of the best minds, and our churches the devoted work of their pastors. To meet these conditions is the practical problem of the hour. The church and the school have preserved for us the foundations and bulwark of our liberty; they have kept alive in spirit and practice the Charter framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the protection of the Constitution of the United States.

Our safety, our development, our prosperity, our peace and our happiness are in America with American ideals and government by Americans. They are the protection as against socialism, bolshevism and anarchy of those precepts and practices of American liberty and individual opportunity which have made the United States the admiration and the hope of the world.

Speech at the Thirtieth Annual Dinner of the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of
Mr. Depew's Eighty-seventh Birthday, April
30, 1921.

Mr. President and Friends:

All of our meetings and greetings have been interesting. Some of them have had special significance. This, the thirtieth, marks an epoch. It is difficult to grasp the idea and visualize the recollections of thirty years of continuous celebrations of the birthday of a single individual. Necessarily, in the course of nature, most who were at our first dinner have joined the majority, but their places have been filled by their sons and new members, equally loyal to this original idea. It is a tribute to the continuance of friendships, under all conditions, favorable and unfavorable, and it is a monument to good fellowship.

We hear so much of the growing selfishness of communities, of their jealousies, rivalries and competitions which separate them into hostile groups that we get a general idea that good fellowship and unselfish companionship have largely disappeared. Like most generalizations from narrow data, this is untrue. College fraternities for undergraduates were never so prosperous and never so homogeneous

as they are now. The annual alumni meetings were never so largely attended, and never with such admirable results, both for the individual alumnus and Alma Mater. Our meeting here has no political, religious, sectional, trade or personal purpose. It is simply a significant proof that men of all creeds and professions can meet together and enjoy each other with hearty good will, and separate with better purposes for the welfare and prosperity of the community in which they live, of the state of which it is a part, of the country, and of their associates.

It is an almost forgotten memory how often the country has gone to the dogs during these thirty years. The tragedy at the time of the crisis was that so many of our people had lost faith in the future. It is well that we are so absorbed in the policies or measures or conditions of the hour that we visualize their dangers and concentrate ourselves upon their remedies.

It was a happy promise for the future that we began these birthday celebrations during Harrison's administration. Harrison was among the ablest of our Presidents. He was a great international lawyer and brought about a settlement of the long pending and critical disputes with Great Britain in the Ber-
ing Sea which satisfied American opinion and American honor. He strengthened the Federal courts by a selection of judges for merit and in disregard of partisan claims and political pressure. His ap-

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

pointments won from his successor, Grover Cleveland, who also was a firm friend of the judiciary, this praise, "I cannot see how he did it. I thought I recognized the importance of the Federal courts resisting mere party pressure and giving to my appointments jealous care, but I must confess that Harrison has beaten me."

Dr. Cadman, the eloquent Brooklyn preacher, in a recent address on orators, says, "Perfect taste in public speech was as nearly attained by President Harrison as by any orator of the last thirty years."

Our experiences with Cleveland were original and interesting. He was a Chief Magistrate much misunderstood by his contemporaries, but has grown in reputation with the years. Our country was going to the dogs and rescued twice during his administration, and by his courage and statesmanship. The strikes under the leadership of Mr. Debs tied up all the railroads of the country and by paralysis of transportation threatened to destroy all business and starve and freeze the people. It was easy, without much exaggeration, to picture what would happen in great industrial centers when such conditions were created, but President Cleveland was equal to the occasion. He said that if it took all the forces at the command or control of the government, the mails should be carried and communication between the different parts of the country kept open. He immediately mobilized the army and drew upon the

navy, the country responded and in a few days the national highways were free.

One of the singular and almost universal crazes of our financial experience was the enthusiasm of that period for silver as the standard of value. One of the great parties was almost unanimously for it and the other so infected that at least a majority were in favor of it. This led to legislation which would have speedily resulted in the United States taking its place alongside that of Mexico and China, and losing its association with the great commercial and industrial nations of the world. Mr. Cleveland saw the situation very clearly and demanded a repeal of these laws. He found the leaders of his own party unanimously against him, and little help from the opposition. Then he made an appeal to human nature. The appeal demonstrated that Rochefoucauld, the great French philosopher and creator of maxims, was eminently correct when he remarked, "There is a great deal of human nature in this world."

Mr. Cleveland's party, for the first time since the Civil War, or in a generation, was in control of every branch of the government. The hunger of a quarter of a century had reached an acuteness where it was ravenous. It was hunger for that most alluring position to so many Americans, the possession of office. The masses came down on their Senators and Representatives in Congress; they

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

crowded the capitol, they invaded the halls of legislation, they were armed with information who could be turned out and replaced and what new places could be created. Mr. Cleveland met the Senators and Congressmen with the calm statement, "My silver repeal first, and then I will take care of your constituents." The Senators and Congressmen sent their constituents to the White House; the President received them with cordiality and said, "The places you want and which I want to give you are in the hands of your Senators and members of Congress, as soon as they repeal this iniquitous silver bill." These office seekers were all silver advocates, but not at the expense of the office which they desired. They bombarded their Representatives in Congress and held up to them the certainty of their political death unless they opened the gates so that they could march triumphantly into the departments of the government and take possession. The result was Mr. Cleveland's repeal bills were passed, a financial crisis of the gravest peril to our industrial and commercial situation was averted, a most distinguished service was done to the country and the President became the most unpopular man in the United States. He retired from office almost by unanimous consent, and yet will take his place when the roll call is made in the future of our presidents as one of the most courageous and wisest of executives.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Then we passed through the administration of William McKinley. He was so cordial, so companionable, had such universal interests, that he almost seemed present at our annual gatherings. Without regard to party, he was popular with us all. McKinley's disposition was so kindly that he could not say no, and it is pleasant to recall what is now forgotten, that he gratified all applicants for office by a phrase which at one time was of national use, "My dear friend, I cannot give you what you wish, but I will give you something equally as good." If the aspirant wanted to go to Paris and received an appointment of the same grade for Africa, he was mollified but not satisfied.

The convention which nominated Mr. McKinley marked another crisis. The silver forces had gathered, the other party was committed to their view and it looked as if the Republicans might equally be stampeded and the country return to a silver basis. But by a combination of circumstances, more psychological than practical, a gold plank was inserted in the Republican platform. Very many of the delegates were frightened when this was discovered. The result, however, very unexpectedly proved that the stone which had nearly been rejected was the corner of the whole edifice. There were many planks in the platform and the strongest was the tariff, but it turned out that the most popular was the gold plank. It grew in strength and in

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

popularity day by day until election. It was universally recognized as the source of McKinley's strength and of his election. Then came this interesting episode. Every statesman in the convention claimed to be its author. Senator Foraker, in his interesting autobiography, devotes unusual space to proving that none of these claims had any rights, but that the committee of which he was chairman and which he dominated, was the author. He was so angry because a well known newspaper proprietor, who had formerly been a baker, claimed the authorship of the gold plank and was asserting it constantly in his newspaper, that he published with great glee a letter from the eloquent and sarcastic Senator Ingalls of Kansas in which he said, "I am glad you slit the gullet of that pastry cook." I was overwhelmed with requests for a certificate of authorship by many distinguished and ambitious statesmen.

It was a fruitful lifetime during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. I was in Buffalo when President McKinley died. The next evening Mr. Roosevelt arrived. It was thought necessary that there should be no interruption in the government, that Mr. Roosevelt should be at once inducted into office. A small party met in the parlor of the private house where Mr. Roosevelt was staying and a United States district judge administered the oath of office. Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

in one of the most impressive addresses ever delivered, and with a voice full of tears, stated to the Vice President the necessity for his at once assuming executive duties because of the tragedy which had taken the life of the President. I left the house with Mark Hanna. The interview called to my mind Cardinal Wolsey's soliloquy in Shakespeare's Henry VIII. A few hours before, Hanna was the Warwick of the administration. His unrivaled practical ability admirably supplemented and enriched for practical administration the idealism of the President. He knew perfectly well that with the forceful, masterly and aggressive Roosevelt, there was no place for a Warwick. What promised to be one of the most influential careers in American politics had suddenly come to an end.

For seven years Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States. We never had a dull moment during that period. His activity, versatility and genius for affairs were phenomenal. The strike in the coal region threatened to stop production, close factories and freeze people in their homes. He brought the operators and operatives together and in his masterful way forced a settlement. The whole country had a thrill. The war between Russia and Japan threatened to involve the world. Roosevelt saw the peril and acted in his own original way, on his own initiative. Figuratively he grasped each combatant by the neck and said, "In the interests

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

of civilization you must get together." The command was obeyed and Roosevelt received the Nobel prize. We had another thrill.

Balboa, standing on the heights of the Isthmus dreamed of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The world master, Charles V, wished he might have the power to accomplish that result. Four hundred years elapsed, with succeeding nations and their rulers desiring to unite the two oceans. It became absolutely necessary for the United States that its eastern and western coasts should be brought together commercially, and that they might be protected by one navy. Roosevelt conceived the plan, presented it to Colombia and after various agreements had been made and broken, in his own original way he built the Panama Canal. To critics who assailed him from various viewpoints, his only answer was, "We got the ditch." And we had another thrill.

Then we had more thrills when Roosevelt opposed the Kaiser in the Venezuela controversy and saved the Monroe Doctrine, and still more when he asserted the rights of American citizenship against the Moroccan bandit chieftain Raisuli.

It is too early yet to predict Roosevelt's place in American history, but the cult is growing and when to picturesque and romantic facts such as I have briefly stated, is added with the years the force of tradition, Roosevelt may take his place as the third

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

of a triumvirate with Washington and Lincoln. Every one of us knew him; he was our neighbor and our friend. That is one of the great privileges of having lived during this period.

We enjoyed Taft, his ability, his justice, his fairness, and we basked and were merry and glad in the sunshine of his resistless smile.

We cannot escape a brief review of our experience with President Wilson. It was original. Mr. Wilson was for a time the foremost, the most popular and powerful statesman in the world. I have found in meeting intimately during my long life masterful men in every department of activity, that all of them if they continue in the same line until after middle age, never escape or try to get rid of their training. President Wilson had a great mind and boundless industry, and as a teacher soon reached the head of one of the great universities of the country. For almost a generation, as a teacher, he was bringing immature minds to a preparation where they could enter fully equipped upon the competitions and activities of life. He did not want from them either advice or suggestion. That was natural. It was for him to set them on the right path and keep them in it. One of the most remarkable revolutions in our political history made him President, with a large majority of his party friends both in the Senate and House of Representatives.

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Democratic senators, with whom I served for many years, told me that Wilson never consulted them, nor would he accept their volunteered advice. They said, "We had free communication with McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, but our President presents us measures and says, 'Enact them into law.' Our constituents accept him as the leader of our party. He declines to discuss the matter and says simply, 'This is a party measure, and I trust you will not make it necessary for me to tell your people that you are no longer a democrat.' We all surrender our personal convictions and obey the order. The few who have refused to do so, he has retired to private life by simply so advising their constituents." So Mr Wilson had more power over Congress than any of our Presidents, not excepting General Jackson. His own reason for his personal policy was that he has a single track mind. To a railroad man, that simile is very clear. A locomotive on a single track cannot be passed by one behind it, nor have another move beside it. If there is one coming in the opposite direction, a collision necessarily occurs.

Mr. Wilson, with his great ability, threw himself whole-heartedly into the formation of peace by the creation of a League of Nations. Foreigners are unable to understand why that proposed League of Nations was not accepted by the American people. The reason can be found in Mr. Wilson's favorite

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

explanation of most difficulties, and that is—American psychology. The whole American people wanted peace, not only wanted, but were eager for it, and yet the League of Nations was rejected on a direct issue by over seven million majority; over a million in our State of New York, and nearly four hundred thousand in our great city. Libraries have been written on the subject, and yet the explanation is found in the remark of a farmer to a journalist friend of mine. The reporter was out for his paper, which was ardently for the League of Nations as presented by Mr. Wilson, to get public opinion, and especially in its favor. He found a farmer in the fields and approached him on the subject. The farmer said, "Yes, I secured a copy of the League of Nations and I have read it three times, and I am opposed to it." "Why?" said the reporter. "Because," answered the farmer, "there is no Bunker Hill in it."

In the psychology of the American people there is an ineradicable sentiment of revolutionary patriotism. It may be hidden by our national prosperity, by materialism, by the obvious advantages of the present, but if the crisis is sufficient and the appeal goes deep enough, the American citizen as a rule is with the founders of the Republic. He may be called isolated or provincial, behind the times or unequal to the responsibility which the cable and the wireless have placed upon the citizens of the

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

world by making them one, and yet when he hears or thinks he hears the voice of Washington saying, "Be friendly with all nations, but have entangling alliances with none and keep out of European quarrels," when he hears or thinks he hears that same sentiment repeated, either in inaugural addresses or messages, by every succeeding President of the United States, his mind is made up and his position is fixed.

I have been actively in politics for sixty-five years, not as an office holder, but as an American profoundly interested in our government. When I used to take the stump for a few weeks, I could always tell how the State or country would go. It was because I sedulously sought the opinion of the man in the street. The man in the street is the every-day fellow, just like you and me, and nine-tenths of the time his mind is occupied with his personal affairs and associations, but in a political crisis he thinks nationally. So going through the State I interviewed everybody—the passengers on the cars, not on the drawing-room but the ordinary cars, the conductor, brakeman and the engineer on the train, the men in the shops, the farmer in the fields, the casual acquaintance at the hotels. It is curious, in a hardly contested fight, to notice how a wave of similar sentiment will sweep over the country and impress all these people the same way.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

The man in the street rules our country, and makes mighty few mistakes.

It was one of the privileges of a lifetime for me to be at the same hotel at St. Augustine, Florida, where President Harding spent most of his vacation. It was a rare opportunity to judge our Chief Executive. He worked hard in the morning in conferences with party leaders and prospective Cabinet officers. He played golf in the afternoon with the regular players on the course, and captured all of them. He was accessible to everybody and his mind transparently open to suggestions. One of the leading southern Democrats of Florida said to me, "Senator Harding, by his good fellowship, camaraderie and cordiality with our people, has come mighty near breaking up our party."

His first act in opening the gates to the White House grounds and the doors of the White House is significant, as was the ancient method with the temple of Janus, only with a reversal of the process; the gates of the temple were open during war and closed for peace. Once in the White House the President immediately summoned the leaders of Congress, he called together the members of his Cabinet, he invited the Vice-President to sit with them, he consulted with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he saw men of leading minds from every walk in life. Before he acts, he will have received hospitably every suggestion, advice or in-

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

formation possible on the subject, but the judgment he forms will be his own. I believe that judgment will be right, and that it will be accepted as such by the American people. One of the leading Democratic papers in the South while I was there and after the President had left Florida, said, "We have yet to find a paper which is hostile to President Harding. The whole field of journalism accepts the tremendous verdict of the country and wishes the President a successful administration."

There never has been a time in our history when our entire population, men, women and children, were so immediately affected by the government as now. Out of the Great War to which we contributed unstintedly of our manhood and our means, have come burdens which rest heavily upon us. Relief can only be had by wise legislation and responsive effort from the people. Productiveness is the keynote of our industrial salvation. The older nations of the world, on account of economic necessities, have taken finance out of politics and treated financial questions with expert ability. Our system has been a happy-go-lucky one, because our resources were enormous and our needs not in proportion. All highly organized governments have had a budget for the year, which detailed what was required and then the taxes were distributed and levied accordingly. We have appropriated the money first in a haphazard way and then tried to find sufficient

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

revenue. The surplus of our tariff after taking care of the government prevented right thinking upon taxation.

When the war thrust upon Congress the necessity of raising billions instead of millions, politics still governed the situation. My old friend, Senator Tillman, knocked out stamps upon checks, an easy method of raising revenue, by shouting, "Every citizen who licks a stamp will turn around and help to lick us." Tea, coffee and sugar, which are the large sources of revenue in every other country, were barred for revenue because we must not touch the American breakfast table. Alcohol for general use, another large contributor in other lands, was knocked out on moral grounds by prohibition, and tobacco treated with gentle hands. The national financiers, abandoning all the lessons of experience, finally adopted practically only one method for revenue. That was excessive taxation of business and individual success. The returns from these two sources are as unstable as the tides, and stability is the life of revenue.

In the fluctuating conditions of domestic and foreign trade, of demand and supply, of capital and labor, prosperity in business one year becomes a deficit the next. Our first need is for the whole population, rising to the occasion, as it did in the adoption of the gold standard, to help the government solve its problems and adjust the burdens, so

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

that adequate revenue may be received and business stimulated; that taxes be adjusted, not according to political popularity or sectional favoritism, but upon sound economic principles; that the different committees which have charge of many branches of appropriation be willing to surrender the patronage and power of their position to a budget committee of supreme authority. The victory of the Allies in the great war saved liberty and civilization for all future generations, and by the extension of the debt they should bear their proportion of the sacrifices which made them free. Employers and employees, as never before, must get together. Daniel Webster once said that the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule and the Law of Love were part of the common law of the land. Employers and employees who meet together in the spirit of this law can arrive in their several industries and occupations at adjustments which will promote mutual good will and the happiest results.

It has been difficult for us during this war to appreciate its results. It is difficult for us now to grasp that we are in the midst of the solution of the problem of the ages. One of the most significant of recent utterances has been that of Lenine, the autocrat of Russia, to the congress of his deputies. For four years he has controlled Russia with an absolutism the Czar never was able to enforce. Having command of an obedient army and all the

sources of food and fuel he held 180,000,000 people, a singularly undeveloped people, in a grip of steel. Property was expropriated, the intelligent and educated classes exterminated. After four years, during which millions have died of starvation and tens of thousands have been arbitrarily executed, he finds himself and his government facing industrial and economic chaos, with no remedy in sight. He therefore says to the few who with him own the government, "Our communistic principles will not work. We have given them a fair trial and they are a failure. We must recognize property and its accumulation and protection. We have destroyed capitalists and enterprises in Russia; we must import them from abroad. We must invite foreign capital. We must let it enjoy enormous profits and be safe in its business and its accumulations. We must allow Russian enterprise to make headway and furnish security for its successes. We find the farmer will not produce unless he owns his farm and controls his product. We find the manufacturer must have the incentive of protection in his work and in its expansion. If, after ten years, capitalism, in other words a recognition of the right of a man or woman to what they earn or make, has placed our country upon a sound economic basis, then, or perhaps later, we may try again our communistic principles."

Going back millions of years, we find that the cave

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

man fought first for his wife, then for his cave, then for his farm and a patrimony for his children. With other cave men, he formed a government and elected a chief, about whom was thrown the mantle of divinity to protect his family and his property. As he developed government and laws, they were all for the safety of life and property and the largest possible liberties consistent with everybody else's liberties. The Roman Empire conquered the world because it carried everywhere a system of law and justice which the people craved. Its corruption and the crimes of its emperors led to its destruction. The principles of Christ captured mankind. New governments were formed and divinity thrown around the king or emperor, but under him the people secured protection for their lives, their liberties and their property. In recent centuries a few royal families governed Europe by divine right. Their tyrannies led to the revolts of their subjects, who wanted more liberties for themselves and more protection for their property from confiscatory taxation. Napoleon shattered the principle of divine right as he tumbled kings from their thrones, but in 1816 the Holy Alliance was formed to extirpate representative government and protect the divinity of sovereigns. The Monroe Doctrine prevented the Alliance from destroying the Spanish republics of South and Central America and Mexico. France, having thrown off the Bourbons, was seeking a gov-

ernment of the people through universal suffrage, but the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, the Romanoffs and the family of Abdul Hamid still governed by divine right.

The new factor, and the most revolutionary one, in the scheme of governing the world was the Republic of the United States. Its government began in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, by proclamation of a charter which said, "We will form a government of just and equal laws." That evolved into the Declaration of Independence and was crystallized in the Constitution of the United States. The quarrel between the Kaiser and the Czar, when from the intimacy of Willie and Nicky they became enemies, broke up the unity of the divinity of kings. The Kaiser and his allies, the Emperor of Austria, the Sultan of Turkey and the King of Bulgaria, staked the doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule the world and the overthrow of popular government upon the issue of war. They have failed, the Romanoff family is destroyed, the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns are in exile and the Sultan has lost his power. For the first time in the ages, the divine right of kings to govern is dead. There are a few kings, but they have no power. Everywhere it is a people's government, growing as nearly as possible in every case to the example of the Republic of the United States. There is absolute stability in the great powers of the United States, Great

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Britain and her self-governing colonies, in France and Italy. Starvation and economic chaos threatens most all other nations.

We read the outlines of history so graphically presented and condensed by H. G. Wells. He pictures the rise, prosperity and extinction of great empires. Babylon, Assyria, Persia, the Mongols, Egypt, Greece and Rome occupy the stage and become historic pictures, but they seem very local and very small compared with the tragedy of our own time upon which the curtain has not yet fallen. The singular phenomenon of the present is that it has produced no great and dominating genius. More human beings have lost their lives, more boundaries of states have been changed, more far-reaching effects have been felt, from the highest civilization to the most savage nations or tribes, than in all the past ages put together, and yet it has produced no representative of the epoch, and no historian, or poet, or novelist to picture in enduring form its progress, its philosophy or significance. There is no Alexander the Great, no Cæsar, no Napoleon, no Bismarck, no Washington, no Lincoln, no Gladstone; no Dante to lead us through hell, no Milton to take us through heaven, no Walter Scott, no Dickens, no Thackeray, no Irving, no Hawthorne. It may be because the peril is not yet past nor the results of the battle crystallized. Liberty and civilization are still facing chaos and anarchy in a

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

great part of the world. Happily, the signs are hopeful, but for the solution there is still required the maximum of Christian forbearance, of wise statesmanship, of universal helpfulness of the strong for the weak and of the prosperous for the needy.

I should fail to meet the expectations of this occasion, so personal to myself, if I did not answer the question which is put to me every day, "How about eighty-seven; how did you get there; how do you retain possession of all your faculties, and how are you so healthy, so happy, so hopeful?" At the Republican National Convention at Chicago last June, I was suddenly called upon to make a speech. There were 15,000 in the audience, the thermometer was 94, and the situation difficult. Happily, the speech was a success, and mine, though by far the oldest, was with one exception the only voice distinctly heard. From the crowds gathering about with their congratulations, I had an experience, which was one out of many I have had, of what the average person regards as the most encouraging thing to say. An enthusiast shouted, "Chauncey Depew, I want to shake your hand; I have wanted to for twenty years, but I live up in the mountains, where you never come, and we seldom get down. I was in the convention hall, on that platform up under the roof, two miles from the stage apparently. I never heard a word any other speaker said, but every word that you uttered. In your eighty-

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

seventh year, it was a miracle. But come to think of it, my father on his eighty-fourth birthday was quite as remarkable, just as strong and vigorous as you were while making that speech at eighty-seven, and a week afterward he was dead."

We have had many anniversaries during the year, but it seems to me, for every-day life and every-day people like you and me, old Benjamin Franklin and his thrift bring us the most lessons. Matthew Arnold has put him on a pedestal as the most remarkable man of his period. Certainly he is the most inspiring. From nothing, he became of world-wide importance. All his life he was working, and happy in his work. He is the father of our modern successes with electricity. He was the philosopher of getting on and success who has inspired more people than all the libraries put together. He was an inventor and he was a statesman. The rulers of Great Britain recognized his ability and he captured the beauties of the court of Louis XVI, the king, the queen and the government. Then along in the 80's, and possessing the levellest head among the statesmen of our country, he was the old man, eloquent and wise, in the Constitutional Convention.

Franklin was always healthy, happy and had a good time. The lesson of his life was of varying one's occupation. It is the most valuable lesson for continuing intellectual and physical vigor and for success in the career which you have selected for

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

your life work. The man who gives his days and nights wholly to his business or his profession, without any change of work or proper recreation or play, does not live long and his talent deteriorates. He can play golf, or if that is denied him, baseball or football, or if that is too strenuous he can walk or row, or instead of plodding away and spurring a tired brain which has become exhausted by continuous strain, he can put his gray matter upon something else, learn to have an interest in that pursuit and turn to it for relief, recreation and life.

With one exception, all of my co-temporaries are dead who became railroad executives when I did. They died because they were chained to their desks and to their task. I found that I had no talent or taste for sport or physical exercise, but some ability for public speaking and easy preparation. My almost daily appearance before the public in the evening changed the switch, freshened my mind, gave me sleep and fresh brains for the morning's task, but it nearly lost me the confidence of my stockholders.

One of the great crimes which shorten life is indifference. As one loses interest in his church, in his political party, in his club, in his friends and acquaintances, he dries up and the grave claims one whom no one wants or laments. The two most fatal phrases and the most common are, "What's the use?" and "Why should I?" A hungry and a needy

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

world answers both with open opportunities for service, helpfulness and good fellowship. I once applied a radical remedy to a friend who came to my office broken in health and spirits and despairing. I said to him, "Take nothing seriously." It was hard for a serious man, in domestic grief and financial trouble, but months afterwards, he came again to my office, cheerful, happy and successful, and said, "Thanks for your remedy, but it has lost me the confidence of my friends."

Have a hobby, but never a fad. I look over with interest and amusement the fads of the past. When I was a young man, the country went mad over the speedy end of the world. A sect called the Millerites selected the day and the year. The confessions of unhappy couples, so that they might enter the next world at the assigned hour with a clean slate, led to many of them hoping and praying that Gabriel would blow his trump at once. We all remember the blue glass cure. It was a picturesque sight on going to one's office in the morning to see in almost every house a big window through which the sun could shine, covered with blue glass and a man or woman sitting there, hoping for an early cure. We recall the enthusiasts who walked barefooted in the grass in the park to get the benefit of the early dew. We remember when it was generally taught and almost universally believed that the eating of fish increased one's brain power, and how

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

enormously skin troubles increased from over-indulgence. I recall with delight the story of the man who wrote his diagnosis to Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and said, "Will you please prescribe how much fish I should eat a day for the improvement of my mind." The doctor answered, "In your case, I think it will be sufficient if you take for breakfast every morning a whale on toast."

Before Columbus sailed for America, a Venetian wrote the story of his life, which centuries after was found in the library of the University of Bologna and printed. His name was Cornaro. His first pamphlet was written when he was sixty. His story briefly is this: At forty, most of the young men of Venice who had money, died of excesses. He recovered from his severe illness by the doctor putting him upon a severe diet. He felt so well, that he continued it. It amounted to about 12 ounces of selected food a day, with a pint only of red wine. At sixty, his co-temporaries were all dead. At eighty, he wrote another volume detailing the success of his experiment. At ninety, another, when he had recovered his fortune which had been lost by his grandson. At one hundred, another pamphlet, when he was still as vigorous as ever and "going some." History does not record what killed him at one hundred and five; it was probably over-indulgence. The greatest life-saver and health preserver is to be able to cut out whatever disagrees with one,

THIRTIETH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

and to limit the quantity of whatever agrees with you.

I have investigated by personal experience spiritualism and its various forms of faith and practice. I have never been satisfied that we really could get communication with the other world, though I have tried very hard. I cannot believe that those we love who are there, and who would be delighted to communicate with us, have yet the power to do so, but I have experienced two most helpful aids. Whenever great misfortune or losses overtook me, as they have, my mother, who was a firm Calvinist, has said, "The Lord has sent this to you as a discipline. It is for your own good. Receive it as such and do the best you can, with renewed energy and hopefulness, and this apparent misfortune will prove a real blessing." In every case, this has come out as my mother predicted. I have absolute faith, from repeated trials, of the efficacy of prayer. While the answer has not come by voice or letter or through mediums, yet in some way it has been direct and positive. But the greatest aid is faith, faith in your church, at the same time with a broad charity for all who prefer other creeds; faith in your government, when its foundations and principles have been demonstrated, like ours as the best; faith in your fellow man and woman. You may be often deceived, cheated and meet with losses and embarrassment, but these are isolated, and very few compared

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

with the great mass of friends and acquaintances who are dependable and valuable. Have faith in yourself and the guidance of God for proper living, thinking, associations and ambitions.

Mr. William H. English, President of the Montauk Club, who presided at the dinner, read a letter from President Harding, in which the President expressed his regret that he was unable to attend and said:

"I would greatly delight to sit beneath the spell of Mr. Depew's utterances from his wealth of memories expressed as none other is able to give expression. I should like for you to know that I share your reverence and esteem for him and I should be glad if I could contribute on this occasion some slight expression of my affectionate regard along with my wish that this celebration will continue for many, many years to come."

Speech at the Thirty-first Annual Dinner of the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of
Mr. Depew's Eighty-eighth Birthday, April 29,
1922.

My Friends:

This is certainly a unique occasion. It has no duplicate anywhere in the country or in the world. Two more years and a third of a century will have passed in these greetings. Among the occasions in one's life for joyous celebration, none equals the birthday. All who participate make the recipient happy by felicitations upon his past, his present and his future. They want him to live forever, and in the full enjoyment of his health, his faculties and life. Up to fifty years, life is speculation, imagination and hope; from fifty to seventy, realization of the fruitful period and still rich with activities; from seventy on, it is retrospective and reminiscent. Happily, from the generous consideration of the good Lord, I am, in entering upon my eighty-ninth year, enjoying all these periods.

When I was a youth, the whole world accepted Bishop Usher's calculation that man had been upon the earth four thousand years. Scientific investigation and discovery of remains have satisfied the present generation of scholars that man has been upon the earth in his present form at least ten

million years. Of nine-tenths of that period, we have no history. The archæologist, whose intense industry is doing so much, is finding cities overlaid upon other cities and these built again on prior cities, which develop that during the greater part of this time, there was high civilization at different periods. When we come down to historic times, we find there are centuries hardly worth recording and the people not progressing but marking time.

H. G. Wells is one of the most prolific and one of the most brilliant writers of our generation. He has condensed all history into two volumes. It is a wonderful work, but I cannot agree with many of his conclusions. I believe in supreme leadership, and that whole eras can be accounted for in the achievement of one superman. Mr. Wells is an iconoclast and smashes idols. For him, Cæsar and Bonaparte have been greatly exaggerated. I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Wells make a speech at a large dinner soon after his arrival in this country. It was a pessimistic address. He said, "The world is going to smash and there is very little hope for the future." Called upon afterwards, I disagreed with him, as I do now. The situation is tragic to a degree, if you take in the whole world. Nevertheless, there are evidences everywhere of returning sanity and of recuperation, because of hope and mutual assistance. As long as the United States is developing so finely, and not only repairing its own

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

losses, but helping the rest of the world; as long as the British Empire and its self-governing colonies are doing the same, the English-speaking peoples of the world will prevent its going to smash.

I said then, as I say now, that the inspiration of youth is its idols. The more numerous and the greater these idols are in one's memory and in one's library, the more there is of growth and achievement. They may differ according to environment or temperament or race, but the world could not lose its great authors and heroes, nor could any nation develop on secure lines whose people had not been brought up on the achievements of those of supreme intelligence who had made its history. No pessimist can take away from us our Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, Washington, Lincoln, or any of our great authors of the English tongue.

In reading recently a work by a distinguished Irishman, I was impressed by the few eras which have marked the story of time. Cæsar, crossing the Alps, led to a new civilization and commerce in the world. A Chinese emperor, to keep out the barbarian hordes, who centuries ago were living upon exploiting the peaceful Chinese, built the great Chinese Wall. That turned the activities of these barbarians to the west and they wiped out the decadent Roman Empire. The Turks, after they had conquered Constantinople and destroyed the Byzantine Empire, closed all the trade routes to the

east. To find new highways, Columbus crossed the Atlantic. The discovery of America in 1492 was the most productive and fruitful event in history. It gave Great Britain her mastery of the sea, and according to this great Irish author, the discovery of America so tightened the grip of England upon Ireland, because Ireland stood across her ocean outlets and commerce, that it made the freedom of Ireland impossible for seven hundred years. In the development of the world, God, for his own purposes, kept this great continent practically uninhabited until the time of Columbus. The European wars and difficulties of navigation enabled the settlers here to work out in their own way, as could have been done nowhere else on the globe, a system of civil and religious liberty. That system is today crossing the borders and capturing the vision of the inhabitants of all nations. If the discovery of America tightened the grip of England upon Ireland, it also provided a home and a new Ireland for the Irish people. There are more Irish in the United States, with their descendants, than there are in Ireland. With their wonderful capacity for government and for politics, they are a power in every State and community in our country. They still govern our City of New York.

I once had a long conversation with Mr. Gladstone, or rather listened to a monologue from this great statesman, in which he discussed the fascina-

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ting question, in what period, if one could have made the selection, he would have preferred to have lived. Mr. Gladstone said, "I would have selected the half century of my activities." This remark was made just after he had passed his Home Rule bill through the House of Commons. He was in a jubilant mood. He said, "The reason that I selected this half century is because it is a period of emancipation." For Great Britain, it had been an expansion of its suffrage, a liberalization of its economic laws, the freedom of the Irish church, and, as seemed probable, home rule for Ireland. For France, it had been the permanence of the French Republic. It had been the emancipation of the serfs in Russia and larger powers in representative government in continental countries. In the United States, it had been the emancipation of the slaves, and the reunion of the States upon the basis of the Declaration of Independence. Certainly this was a marvelous period. Yet, my friends, take our fifty years. They have no equal. We have been the heirs of all that rejoiced Mr. Gladstone, and we have been witnesses and participants in triumphs for civilization and liberty. We have seen the disappearance of three families who, whether their representatives upon the thrones were good or bad, great or foolish, absolutely controlled the destinies of Europe, and largely of the world for centuries. The Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are gone forever.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

The divinity which in all ages has surrounded the throne and the king has disappeared. In its place has come an advance in popular suffrage and representative government.

We have passed through the greatest tragedy of modern times. We have rejoiced in the success of right, civilization and liberty. The struggle has cost fifty million lives, and has left enormous burdens of debt upon all nations, and devastation and chaos among many. But we are now witnessing and participating in the efforts for reconstruction. The conference at Versailles, to settle the affairs of the world, was partially successful. The same ambition, greed and jealousy which have marked all the conferences for treaty making in history predominated at that gathering. While continents were being divided, islands distributed, boundaries fixed, nationalities disintegrated and new ones created, the United States stood there alone, asking nothing, seeking nothing, except the welfare and liberty of mankind.

After two years of efforts, some success and many failures, an inspiration came to President Harding. It can be called by no other name. It can be ascribed to no other source. A conference could not be held in London because of the suspicions of France, nor in Paris, nor in Italy, nor anywhere in Europe, Asia or Africa, without starting with the inherited jealousies of generations of conflict. The

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

City of Washington was absolutely free from any heredity of ambition or strife. The people of America were comprised of men and women of all nations who were enjoying the blessings of American liberty and united in hoping for the rehabilitation and happiness of the countries from which they or their ancestors came. And so public opinion in the United States was united solidly and enthusiastically for world peace.

Beyond any period in history, statesmen when they meet together are now more impressed by and responsive to public opinion. Under these conditions, the conference at Washington became the most important assemblage of all time. The great powers were there with their ablest representatives. They expected the usual processes of slow development, long debate and difficult agreements. The genius of the American spirit, the inspiration of the solidity of American public opinion, changed the diplomacy of the ages. After an illuminating speech by President Harding, Mr. Hughes, instead of presenting a program for debate, said, "The United States, in the interests of peace and lifting the burdens of nations, is willing to scrap so much of its sea power. Your share on the same ratio will be so much. Will you accept it?" Then came another surprise, showing the influence again of the inspiration of the occasion and the environment. Great Britain had more at stake than any other nation,

and yet in thirty minutes, and without consultation with his own government, that veteran and enlightened statesman, Mr. Balfour, said, "Great Britain accepts." The representatives of other nations soon followed. The ruinous competition on armaments, which was a perpetual threat to the peace of the world and an increasing burden of taxation to already overtaxed nationalities, was done away with. It was the finest achievement in modern times of a parliament of the powers.

John Hay, then Secretary of State, said to me one day, when some of the treaties which he had prepared with great care had been defeated in the Senate, "There never will be another treaty made between the United States and any foreign power because under our Constitution it takes two-thirds of the senators to ratify a treaty. A treaty is the result of much labor, care and thought by the experts of the State Department, who are trained international diplomats. It is impossible for a body of ninety-six men, whose time and mind are occupied with domestic matters of the highest importance and the greatest political significance, to grasp all that there is in a treaty and all that has induced the President, the Secretary of State and the Cabinet to commend it." The prophecy of the brilliant Secretary of State has not been fully verified, but in the recent debate over the Four-Power

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Treaty which came out of the conference, it has found much justification.

Probably the greatest menace to peace on and about the Pacific ocean was the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Japan. It aroused suspicion and irritation in the United States and it spurred Japan to unusual commitments in naval expansion because of the backing of the British Empire, and that so reacted upon the United States as to induce an ardent pacifist administration and a pacifist Secretary of the Navy, like Secretary Daniels, to propose a scheme of naval construction which ultimately would have made the United States the strongest naval power in the world, and with an expenditure for naval expansion beyond the total cost of government before the Great War. The Four-Power Treaty did away with the British-Japanese alliance. It bound the great powers on the Pacific ocean to peace and friendship for the next ten years. It stopped the necessity for naval construction, and on the part of the United States, for vast fortifications upon the Philippines and our eastern islands. It bound the Four Powers, if any dispute arose, before any action, to meet in conference in an effort at settlement. There was in the treaty no alliance, no commitments as to force, just the conscience and the honor of the great powers to maintain peace and act justly with one another.

I believe the treaty had the support to an un-

precedented degree of the public opinion of the United States. It certainly had the support of the public opinion of the rest of the world. But it was for a long time in peril, because intense nationalists discovered in it unexpected perils. They said, "Yes, the wording is plain, but who wrote it?" Then it developed that if any of the other powers than the United States, and especially Mr. Balfour, had anything to do with its composition, there were in it, undiscoverable to the keenest vision, elements of danger. Then it transpired that the treaty was written by Secretary Hughes, with the advice and concurrence of Mr. Elihu Root and Senators Lodge and Underwood. Then arose the marvel of doubt. It was that the greatest international talent the United States possesses, the greatest legal ability and demonstrated experience which we have were at the mercy of the supreme genius of Mr. Balfour and the commissioner from Japan. It has frequently been asserted that with the death of Mark Twain, American humor had ceased to exist, but when the heat and passion of the controversy have passed away, it will be recognized that Mark Twain at his best never equalled this suspicion of the imbecility and inefficiency of Secretary of State Hughes, Ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root and Senators Lodge and Underwood. I believe that the agreement about disarmament will be extended; I believe that with it will be retained, as it ought to be,

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

a general system of training and preparedness; I believe that the Four-Power Treaty will be followed by other conferences, out of which will come that economic rehabilitation without which our foreign commerce is impossible.

It is said that when Columbus landed on our shores, the Indian chief turned around to the members of his tribe and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, we can no longer hide. We have been discovered." The United States cannot continue in a position of isolation from the world. Its entrance into the World War, its contribution to the victory for liberty and civilization, its efforts at the Versailles Conference, its triumphs at the Washington Conference have placed us in a position from which there is no retracting. We not only have our responsibility to civilization, but we have also, as the greatest of productive countries, with a large surplus of agriculture and manufactures requiring a market, the necessity of aiding in the adjustment of international difficulties and the rehabilitation of the industrial forces of the world.

In this connection arise some very interesting questions. European governments owe to the United States, with principal and interest, about eleven billions of dollars. I recently had an opportunity while in Washington to discuss these questions with senators and congressmen. I found that this European debt is regarded by many as a real

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

asset upon which to base important enterprises and large expenditures. In a way it is a national menace, because propagandists and promoters say, "It is not necessary to impose any further taxes or economics for our schemes. The money is in the debts due us from Europe, and will cost the American people nothing."

This belief was so strong among the advocates of the soldiers' bonus that Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, incurred grave danger of having articles of impeachment presented against him because of his statement that the debt could not be utilized at present for any purpose. The advocates of an unprecedentedly large subsidy for the American Merchant Marine were reaching out to utilize the European debt and also placed bombs under the chair of the Secretary of the Treasury. Promoters of vast schemes for water power, for swamp drainage, for irrigation, road building and forestry are looking at it with eager and avaricious eyes.

Great Britain by a tremendous effort has balanced her budget, and financiers estimate that if the economic adjustment of the world is favorable she can within twenty-five years begin to pay on the principal. France is making heroic and wonderful efforts to balance her budget. Her national debt before the war was the largest in the world, over six billions of dollars. It is now over sixty billions of dollars, with one-seventh of her territory and pro-

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ductive power destroyed. France loaned four billions of dollars to Russia, and three billions to her other Allies. Germany owes her in reparation debt twenty billions for property destroyed. French financiers say, "As soon as these sums are collected by us, we can pay the United States, but not before." The debts to us from some of the other nations are, of course, hopeless. France also is burdened with the maintenance of an enormous army and navy, because of the failure of the Allies to carry out the promises made in the Versailles Conference to protect her from further invasions of old enemies or new ones.

Just at present, the sentiment of the country treats this as an ordinary transaction between a debtor and creditor. The business opinion of the people is that the debt differs from no other obligation and should be paid, principal and interest. It is not popular to doubt this view of the case, but on this platform we are at liberty to speculate and permit the broadest view and entertain every consideration of any situation. Therefore, just for a moment, let us review how this debt was accumulated. The war began in July, 1914, and ended in November, 1918. We entered it in April, 1917. The purposes for which the Allies were fighting against the aggressions of the German Empire and its Allies, were the same in 1917 as they were in 1914. Germany was determined to conquer continental

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Europe, to reduce Great Britain to submission and then to assail the last vestige of representative liberty, the United States. During the early years of the war the Allies furnished men, and the United States sold to them vast quantities of munitions and provisions, and millions of Allied soldiers were killed and wounded fighting for the liberty of the world. These supplies were furnished by our manufacturers at the prevailing profits of the time, which were very great, and the government, in the way of income taxes, collected over seventy per cent upon those profits. Now that the adjustments and settlements of the victory for the right are being made, the United States is the only one of the Allies which is free from peril as to its future economic condition. Undoubtedly, if given time, Great Britain can pay her portion of this debt. With the tremendous burdens, devastated territory and diminished productive power, it does not seem possible that continental nations can ever pay either interest or principal. We legislate and will continue to legislate as to the uses in our domestic affairs to which we can put these vast sums, as if they were soon available. Various methods have been suggested by financiers of utilizing this indebtedness for the rehabilitation of European industries, for the opening of European markets and for the stabilization of international exchange. Certainly the constructive genius which has done so much and is doing so much for pros-

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

perity and remunerative employment, ought to be able to solve this problem.

The first time appropriations for carrying on our government for a year passed a billion of dollars, was during the speakership of Thomas B. Reed. He met the outcry of extravagance by saying, "This is a billion dollar country." That pleased the national pride, and from thinking in millions we began to think in billions. Russia thinks in trillions, and according to Thomas H. Dickinson, two hundred thousand rubles are worth a dollar. Germany thinks in billions, and it requires a thousand marks to buy an American dollar. The same conditions exist in Austria. If our budget system is to be a success, if taxation is to be reduced, if economic conditions are to be healthy and unemployment is to be followed by prosperity, the dollar must be the basis upon which we build in government and personal affairs.

Many things have occurred since our last meeting which are fruitful for thought, consideration and discussion. I am met every day on the street by men and women who seem to believe that I have discovered the secret of perpetual youth, and who anxiously ask what is the secret. In a broad way, it is in ourselves. There is such an infinite amount of human nature in the world, and it is so open and discoverable in its many phases, which give pleasure and help longevity, that I am

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

amazed everybody doesn't learn to practice the methods of friendly intercourse.

I have several times in coming home from Europe met American families of great wealth, who believe that they can acquire for themselves an ancestry equal to the longest genealogy of European aristocracy by shunning their fellow mortals. I have asked them whom they have met and what they have seen in their extended travels, to find that they have avoided acquaintances and introductions, that they have lived within their apartments at their hotels and had their private car and compartments on the railroad trains. For all the pleasures of life, they would have done better if they had stayed at home.

Health and longevity come from the easy rules of moderation and temperance in all things, but there are mental and temperamental experiences more important. I found, as everybody does, many years ago that every member of the family brought back in the excursions of the day, in business or shopping or society, sorrowful news or irritating experiences. I had a rule adopted that all disagreeable matters should go over until the next day, and everyone as far as possible contribute something out of the day's adventures which would help, for that circle at least, the gaiety of nations. The universal objection I hear when stating this rule, is that it is impossible, and yet if you get into the habit, it is the easiest of

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

accomplishments. There is always something on the trolley or in the railroad car, in the hotel or the office, which helps for this duty of the closing of the day.

I was traveling at one time some years ago to a watering place in Europe, and in my compartment on the train was one other passenger, an elderly lady. I jumped off at one of the stations and from one of the traveling wagons which they have over there, bought a chicken, sandwiches, fruit and mineral water. I allayed the suspicions of the old lady by offering to share with her my provisions. She said to me, "Where are you from?" I said, "From New York." "Oh, well," she said, "my husband is one of the largest manufacturers and most successful in New England. We have a New York partner, and he is one of the best known men in the city. He is at the very top of the social swim. He belongs to the four hundred, and that is more important to our business than his talent, which is not great. His name is George Simpson. Of course you have met him." I said, "No." "Well," she said, "what circle do you move in that you haven't met George?" I answered, "Apparently not in his." "Well," she said, "I am alone in this compartment because my family are all second class, not because they could not afford to be with me, but they want to try the second class cars and the people who ride in them." We arrived at a well-known station. She

said, "I get off here." I helped her out with her bags and baggage, and then she said, "You have been awfully kind, won't you tell me your name?" I said, "Chauncey Depew." She said, "Are you the real Chauncey Depew?" I said, "Yes, I don't know of any other," and she said, "Only to think that my family are all second class."

A fellow countryman in Naples said to me, "Have you been up to see Vesuvius?" I answered, "Yes," and he said, "Well I was up there with a European friend, and we were looking into the crater. I said to him, as we gazed at the boiling mass and smoke and steam, 'That looks like hell,' and he remarked, 'What wonderful travelers you Americans are.'"

Volumes could be filled with these suggestions. They may seem very trivial in the narration, but when told with adequate scenery to a wearied family or group of friends in the evening of the day when they occurred, when there is about them every element of freshness and adventure, they are enormously helpful, and if one is alert they occur in his experiences every day.

We have been talking of diplomacy. American diplomacy has always been very different from that of the great masters of the art in the history of Europe. I was told at the time by a friend in Washington of the meeting of the commissioners of the United States and Mexico after the Mexican war. The Mexican representative had been brought up

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

in the Spanish school and of course his policy was discussion and delay. The American was for immediate action. Our diplomat was old General Gadsden, whose temper was none of the best. The interpreter was a fine specimen of the old-fashioned diplomat. General Gadsden said, when irritated beyond measure at the evasions of the Mexican representative, "Tell that spindle-shanked, yellow-bellied, son-of-a-gun that if he don't accept our offer of fifteen millions, we will take his territories anyhow, and whatever else we want." The interpreter said to the Mexican diplomat, "Your Excellency, the distinguished American Ambassador says that he cannot discuss this question any further, but must insist upon an immediate acceptance of his proposition, or he fears that hostilities may be renewed."

The Constitution of the United States has accomplished more in its practical workings for the preservation of representative government and the encouragement of liberty in the world than any other document ever written. Of late years it has become a national habit to overload it with measures which are peculiarly legislative, or for the exercise of the police power. In one State they started a movement to put into it a prohibition against evolution and the Darwinian theories. The result of all this is a recognized lowering of respect for the Constitution and obedience to its mandates and enforcement.

One of the most significant and most fortunate of

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the events of our year has been the settlement of the centuries old controversy by making Ireland a Free State on the lines of our neighbor Canada. The Irish, with their remarkable genius for government and irrepressible virility and vitality, will speedily make the Free State of Ireland the most interesting of the self-governing possessions of the British Empire.

Every achievement produces unexpected results. One of the most valuable assets of the American politicians for generations has been the popularity of twisting the tail of the British lion. Skill in this exercise has made congressmen and senators, and in one case a Vice-President of the United States. We have all tried it to the satisfaction of ourselves, the pleasure of our audiences, and no great discomfort to the lion. Now, with Ireland interested in the development and expansion of the British Empire, heartily in unison and thought in the mission and influence for liberty and civilization of the English-speaking peoples of the world, what is to become of brilliant orators and ambitious politicians whose one speech and popularity have been their skill in twisting the tail of the lion? In my experience of sixty-six years on the platform revolutionary changes have taken place in American politics, which at different times have put off the platform and retired to private life brilliant performers, who

THIRTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY SPEECH

had only one string to their bow, and when that one broke they were lost.

A philosopher in the second century of the Christian era was anxious to learn if truth was revealed by any of the ancient gods. In his quest he visited all the famous shrines of the old world. The magnificent temples were falling into decay; they had lost worshippers and pilgrims; their priests were neglected and starving; their oracles which had decided the policy of kings and peoples were silent. In the new religion of Christ, the people had found God. The individual could pray to and hear from his Creator without any intervention. The dynamite of the independence of the individual and his realization of his immortal soul were undermining old faiths and political systems. In the evolution of time, true democracy has come into faith and practice.

Only those systems survive and flourish which are founded on the civil and religious liberty of the individual. Communism and extreme socialism had in Russia their opportunity: A docile people and a country of unlimited resources. They adopted and increased the terrorist methods of the Czars. The arguments of von Plehve, the most tyrannical of the ministers of autocracy, to justify killing and confiscations, are repeated by Lenine and Trotzky, and they have caused more deaths and human misery in four years than the bureaucracy of the Czars were

able to do in forty. Now they cry: "We have made a mistake, we will recognize individual enterprise and property, but not yet the freedom of the press or of opinions."

Since we met a year ago, true democracy has won significant triumphs. Conferences have taken place over controversies in dealings between nations. The democratic spirit which animates English-speaking peoples has given self-government to Ireland, inaugurated it in Egypt, and its work has begun in Bagdad, the home of Haroun Al-Raschid, and the ancient Garden of Eden. Beyond all the experiences of the past, we thank God and take courage that now, today and tomorrow, are the times to live in and enjoy life.

Speech at the Thirty-second Annual Dinner of the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of
Mr. Depew's Eighty-ninth Birthday, April 28,
1923.

My Friends:

Only the unusual at present interests. It is a peculiar condition of our times that we care so little for what formerly we cared so much. The tragedies, local, general or universal, which formerly thrilled and horrified us, create now only the mildest sensations. If they happen far from home, they produce no sensation at all. Apathy has been succeeded by numbness. We do wonderful things in the way of contributing millions to the relief of suffering humanity here and in other countries. Happily, the spirit of helpfulness is still very much alive.

I recall how the world rose to Gladstone's appeal at the time of the Bulgarian atrocities. Behind him was the whole power of British public opinion, with its army and navy. We were ready to help if the occasion had demanded it. My friend, Eugene Schuyler, then a young man in the diplomatic service, went over the ground where the massacres occurred, and his report was received with universal eagerness. It is a commonplace now to read in the morning paper that several thousand have been

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

slaughtered at, near or around Smyrna. We fail to respond in any way to the starvation and murder of millions of Armenians. The deportation of whole populations from the farms and villages where they have lived peacefully and happily for generations, to foreign ports and shores where they die miserably, is a paragraph which catches our eye in the morning newspaper, but is not carried to our business or discussed in our clubs or commented upon in our churches or in Congress. The only comment if any is, "Oh, the Turk has come back and is administering true to form." The Turk had been eliminated and his power virtually destroyed by the war, but the jealousies of the victors have enabled him to play the rôle which Abdul-Hamid did for so many years with such eminent success for his throne and such horrors for the Christian populations in Turkey. One singular and unfortunate result of the World War has been that under phrases of fellowship, universally accepted, has come an isolation of peoples dangerous to peace and civilization.

Let us localize and leave for the moment these world problems and look about home. When these dinners first began thirty-two years ago, Brooklyn was famous for the number of its clubs. They were social organizations and the centers of the life, activities and associations of every neighborhood. Nearly all of them have disappeared. This club, the Montauk, is one of the few survivors. The subway,

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

with its easy and cheap access to the attractions of New York City proper, and the automobile have largely contributed to this result. Gradually the citizen is a member of only two clubs, one near Fifth Avenue and the other in the country. The Montauk has lived and thrived because under wise management it has promoted neighborliness. It attracts all families who belong to it to the hospitality within its walls. They meet here frequently for all the purposes which interest and should interest a neighborhood. Of all the elements which go to make good citizenship and good citizens, promoting good government, local and general, which purify politics and sanctify the home, there is none more potent than neighborliness.

I recall life in the country seventy years ago, and remember vividly my contact with it eighty years ago. Clubs were unknown in rural neighborhoods, but the church was, outside of its sacred function, preëminently a club. The members were on intimate terms. After the services, if it was a rainy day, the gathering in the lobby was a renewal of the past, a cementing of the present and promising for the future. On clear days, when the open air was attractive, the congregation lingered long in the sunlight and the spirit of their gathering was full of health, enterprise and activity for the whole neighborhood. I recall how the weekly prayer meeting was an exchange of good fellowship. The repeated statement

of the worthy deacon that the Lord knew he was a man of "wounds and bruises and putrefying sores" led me, as a boy, to ask him why he did not take a cure. Even in cities, much of this intimate association prevailed. Human beings are gregarious. They must meet and have contact and sympathy. If for material reasons, or selfishness, or class distinctions, the better purposes of assemblage fail, then we have the rise of the socialist, the bolshevist and finally the anarchist.

An extraordinary illustration of the indifference which comes from an unnatural isolation is the situation in the Ruhr. We recognize how difficult is the position of France, with her old enemy possessing a population so much larger and constantly increasing and with the ever-present danger of a new war with new atrocities. When the armistice was signed, the United States and Great Britain recognized the appeal of France as she stood on the frontier of liberty, for their protection and assistance if necessary, but neither has responded, and France is left to protect herself. We all hope that out of the present trouble will come some situation which will secure for her the payment of the reparation debts which were promised, or at least part of them, and conditions of security where she can safely reduce her military armament and vast protective expenses, and that the demands upon Germany will be within that country's economic and industrial development.

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

And yet, neither in Great Britain nor in the United States has this sentiment of sympathy and help led to any suggestion of helpfulness.

A remarkable and critical question comes involuntarily to the front. What has the world gained from the greatest war in its history? Most of us here, I think, were eager for the United States to enter the war long before we did. Neither our government nor our people possessed the gift of prophecy, and we as a people were preëminently peaceable and war was abhorrent. We can see now that if we had responded at once on the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the war would have ended two years earlier and probably there would never have been any necessity of sending our boys abroad. But hindsight is a safe but never a generous critic of foresight.

The American situation in the two greatest conflicts in which we were ever engaged, the Civil War and the Great War, presents interesting contrasts. After the Civil War, when we came to balance the books and count the gains and the losses, the credit side enormously over-balanced the debit. Slavery had disappeared and four millions of human beings had been raised to freedom and opportunity. That was universally recognized in the South as well as in the North, as an inestimable gain for our country. The Union of our States, in other words of our Republic, had been saved and recemented on a permanent basis. In this was the security of consti-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

tutional and orderly liberty, not only for our country, but in a measure for the whole world. Our people, undiscouraged, undismayed, full of hope, energy, ambition, confidence, compelled prosperity, and with a healthy steadying by the panic of 1873, we moved on to a development of our resources, to the building of cities and villages, to the construction of railroads, to the settlement of farms, to the opening of mines, and to the founding and the enlargement of factories. The industrial world has never known such a beneficent restoration, resurrection and progress.

There was another and very marked phenomenon impressed on the memory of those who were active at that period. It was the revival of the religious spirit. A universal recognition of dependence upon God; a general recognition of His fatherly care and endless blessings. The churches were full, the spirit rested alike upon the pulpit and the pew. When Memorial Day was first celebrated in my home town, I was the speaker. The meeting was in the old cemetery and in the grounds was a church, built long before the Revolutionary War. Every woman in that vast crowd was in deep mourning; every family had lost a son. I knew all those boys personally who had died, and as I recalled their lives at home and their heroism in the field, I never have witnessed such a scene. Out of its agony, however, arose hope and universal sympathy and love. This

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

same feeling was evidenced that day in every part of the country, north, south, east and west. If there ever was a time when the spirits of the departed renewed their associations with the loved living, it was then.

Now let us look at this picture so indelibly impressed upon our memories, especially on the memories of those who passed through those days, and contrast it with our present situation. Five years ago, the armistice was signed. For five years, the best representative talent of both the victors and the vanquished have been trying to solve the problems which the armistice left us. What is the result? Russia has been during the whole of this period the experiment station of a small company of theorists to carry out their ideas of government. They gained possession of the army, of the police and the whole machinery of force, and of every element of production and all the means of transportation. They had 180,000,000 of an unusually submissive people entirely under their control and domination. They abolished all freedom, all liberty of press and all public opinion. They suppressed all industries and reduced the people to practical slavery and dependence upon the government for such food and clothing and necessities of life as the government might yield. The experiment proved that Communism destroys initiative and that no human power can substitute what God has implanted in man and

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

woman, the incentive of personal gain and the security of property gained by personal exertion and effort. The intelligent classes have been suppressed, exiled and, according to official reports, millions of them executed. There is at present a limited revival of industry due to the abandonment of the principles of the Communist revolution and the recognition of those eternal principles and practices which are scornfully denounced as capitalism. It is curious that the very able leader of this movement, which was proclaimed to be for the benefit only of those who worked with their hands, is a nobleman, a college man and whose only work during a long lifetime has been as a revolutionary agitator. His revolution succeeded and gave him a complete and absolute opportunity on the largest scale ever known to carry out his theories, and they have utterly failed. Russia is still a very unhappy country with an afflicted people.

The conditions in Germany are anything but hopeful. Austria, split up by the mistakes of the conference at Versailles, is trying to have a great city live without the necessary contributing territory. Central Europe has been divided into small states who have erected hostile boundaries and are rapidly developing a war spirit. France has nobly, and in almost a miraculous way, risen from the devastations of her territory, but she has become burdened with a debt whose proportions stagger the calcula-

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

tions of the economist and the budget maker and whose burdens rest upon all her brilliant enterprises. Great Britain has a debt several times greater and with burdens of taxes correspondingly larger than before the war. On account of the disorganization of the countries which she formerly traded with, a million and a half of her working people are out of employment. Her middle class, who contributed so much to her stability, have been reduced to the severest economic straits, while the old estates are largely disappearing under the burden of taxes so great that they cannot be maintained. We in the United States have always been restive under a national debt. The theorists who said a national debt was a national blessing, have always been few, principally millionaires who wanted government securities because they distrusted all others. At the commencement of the the Great War we had so far paid off the obligations of the Civil War that we owed about one thousand millions of dollars, and now it is twenty-three thousand millions. The necessities of our government are so great that to raise by taxation what is required has so far baffled the tax experts and led to the adoption of a system which is political and not scientific. Nevertheless, the situation of the United States is in every way so infinitely better than that of any other country in the world that we must feel we ought to be under a tremendous exaltation of gratitude and hope. I can-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

not with my make-up sympathize with those who, returning constantly from Europe, paint such pictures of despair, chaos and anarchy. I have the profoundest faith in humanity, in its ability to rise to all situations and to meet and overcome all difficulties. I believe that with all the troubles that must come and the sacrifices which must be endured, the world will be in a not distant future in those normal conditions of internal development and industry and international good will and helpfulness which will make it still, as it has been, a grand old world to live in.

A peculiar phase of the situation in our country is what is called by its advocates liberalism and progressivism. We find it in the church and public life. We all have passed through many storms in the religious and political world and are studying with intense interest this development. It is not new. Very few things in this world are new, except invention. It is curious that the inventive mind was never so active and productive as during the Great War, but inventions were wholly for destruction. It was to increase the efficiency and peril of the submarine, so as to destroy safety on the seas. It was to perfect the poisoning of the air, so that armies or cities or villages might be wiped out at once. It was to add to the power of the machines of war, so that distance was no safety and the atmosphere was full of peril. Some friends of mine in

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Paris were crushed while at church by the explosion of a shell fired from a gun seventy-five miles away. Since the war, the inventive genius of the world has been equally active and productive. It has given to us the radio, the wireless and the expansion of the telephone. Recently through broadcasting a concert in New York was heard in France. It is now a commonplace to say from the United States, "Hello, London," and have London respond with the facility of an adjoining town. The ideas of all the ages have been that the earth was of little use except for agriculture, the water except for navigation and for fish, the mountains except for minerals, and the air except for oxygen and nitrogen, but in the last few years inventive genius has found that all these elements, properly understood and harnessed, can be used for every purpose necessary for the enjoyment and advancement of life.

In 1852, seventy-one years ago, I entered Yale College. It was a period of great unrest in the intellectual, educational and religious world. Jonathan Edwards had converted the whole country by lurid pictures of hellfire and the certainties of damnation. Then came a violent reaction. Hell became unpopular. Preachers were finding new paths to Heaven. New sects and divisions of old sects were common. What was known as transcendentalism attracted general interest, and through the colleges ran a sentiment that the

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

time had come for independence of thought. Independence of thought, as understood by the undergraduate, was the repudiation of all that had been taught him at home. The undergraduate was an aggressive and very disagreeable young man in his protests against the tyranny of creeds and his proclamation of the development of a new thought. Most of these boys became normal after they got home. The great lights who had the front pages of the newspapers burned out; the leaders of the new thought are no longer remembered. Now there is a lively and interesting recrudescence, and it is called liberalism and progressivism. Apparently in its present form it neither establishes a new church nor creates a new party. Its mission is in religion for its advocates to have the advantage of the church organization, with its power and its safety, and at the same time do all that is possible to destroy the foundations of faith. In the political world, it is not to undertake the perils of a new party, for all new parties in our country have failed, but to remain in the party and have the prestige and safety of the organization while planting bombs and dynamite at convenient and strategical points. In the church, liberalism seems to mean that it is more in accordance with modern ideas not to reject Jesus Christ but to take from Him, as far as possible, every element of divinity and to destroy that trust in Him which has been the salvation and the hope

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

of countless millions. It is to reduce the apostles and their preaching to the status of itinerant evangelists whose teachings are not always to be trusted and are frequently the result of physical or mental ailments to which all human nature is subject.

American democracy has successfully solved its problems, carried on its government and made its success in every element which constitutes for a people progress, development, liberty and prosperity, by the two-party system. The two-party system is founded upon human nature. Broadly, men and women are temperamentally divided into different degrees of conservatism and radicalism. To draw an illustration from the horse period, it was the traces which pulled the load uphill and the breeches which prevented it running to destruction downhill. Both were absolutely necessary. In the practical operation of the two-party system, each checks the other. If the conservatives are too slow or stuck in the mud, there is always a large moderate element which joins the radical side to push the machine forward. On the other hand, if the radical element has broken so far loose from proper control that it puts our institutions in peril, the moderate element again joins the forces of stability. We recognize that our institutions are built upon the individual and that every opportunity must be furnished for him to live his life and accomplish individually and as a citizen all that there is in him.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

But for the general purposes of government, those whose tendencies are in the same direction must meet together as a party. While they are agreed upon essentials, there is liberty upon non-essentials. Nevertheless, the will of the majority must dictate the policy of the party. After a long era of control by the one party, we have had within the last few years violent changes from the moderate element shifting from one party to the other because of unrest with present and prospective conditions. I have been an interested student of political and economic conditions for over seventy years. I have witnessed the rise of independent organizations whose object was to form a third party, and have seen them fail. I followed the fortunes of Horace Greeley in his pathetic and tragic attempt. In the clarified atmosphere and loneliness outside of the fortifications, I learned my lesson, and within a year was back again in the ranks of the party.

We have just elected a new Congress. The administration which came into office two years ago has suffered many defeats in the Congress elected at the same time by an unusual majority, but has won notable triumphs in some of its important policies. The margin now is narrow in both the Senate and the House. Some of our statesmen are restive under party government and disinclined to act with the majority and have recently announced a program which puts in doubt party policies of the new Con-

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

gress during the succeeding two years. In a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* is an announcement of their program. Briefly stated, it is this: That after a careful and microscopic search of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, they have found 49 devoted patriots. There are 96 senators and 435 members of the House, together constituting 531. It is most interesting, if true, that only 49 of this 531 can be trusted in legislation necessary for the country and the solving of problems essential to the welfare of the people, but the statement of the group clearly defines why it functions. It is because of this recently elected governing legislative body of the United States only 49 represent the people and 482 are hostile to the people's interests. When the people of the United States have thoroughly discussed and clearly understand the issues before them, their verdict is *vox populi, vox Dei*; that is to say, the voice of the people is the voice of God. Ten righteous men, if they could have been found, would have saved Sodom. The above mentioned 49 must be righteous, they admit it themselves, and so we are reasonably safe.

Now in a canvass where all questions were so thoroughly discussed as in the campaign of last year, it seems to me to require marvelous nerve to say that the people so erred as to place as their representatives at Washington 482 out of a total of

531 who would betray them, and succeeded in selecting only 49 who were faithful to their interests. It certainly develops one of the most interesting situations in our public life and political history. This group claim to be able by shifting their strength from one party to the other from time to time, to compel both parties, if they wish to succeed, to abandon their own program and accept that of the 49. These 49 patriots are not all agreed. In fact, in their program they are allowed large individual discretion, but their organizers claim that they are a unit on questions which affect the economic conditions of the country, the stability of business and safety of property, and that their general program is to overthrow as far as possible by legislation the methods by which the country has progressed and developed in such a phenomenal and extraordinary way.

There is an idea among those who are the victims of unrest that general prosperity is dangerous to the happiness and development of large numbers of people. Reduced to its last analysis, it means that those who have secured independence and property by industry, sobriety and intelligence, must be compelled by legislation to divide with those who are neither industrious, nor sober, nor intelligent and charge their ill luck to industrial conditions and not to their own character and conduct. This school, which is not a new one, repudiates the parable of the

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ten talents. They say that the man who doubled his ten talents and the man who increased his five talents should be compelled to divide with the man who wrapped his talents in a napkin and went to sleep.

One of the most interesting phenomena of the world-wide struggle for mastery by these antagonistic principles is the development of the Fascisti in Italy. The main sufferers from wild experiments in efforts to overthrow the principles which have proved sound and wise by the experiments of the centuries, are those known as the middle class of every country. They are unorganized and they suffer from the group tyranny of those of the privileged class above them and of the others who are not of them. They constitute, however, a solid body of intelligent, law and order abiding and property owning, industrially and educationally active people who are the strength and stability of every nation. There is no more interesting contrast in the world than the rise and government of Lenine in Russia and Mussolini in Italy. Lenine, nobleman, aristocrat, and then revolutionist and leader of the Communists; Mussolini, son of a blacksmith, socialist, and then organizer of the Middle Class Union and leading conservative. Mussolini found his people drifting to the same conditions of servitude to a proletarian dictatorship as exist in Russia. He found that his people were

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

gradually falling under the domination of the propaganda for revolution and for Bolshevism which is active in every country, including our own. Of course, its avowed object is to destroy property interests, the church and the independence of intelligence by violent methods. Mussolini, starting as a socialist, saw this propaganda gradually capturing and confiscating factories and farms, and with the example of the results in Russia saw what would happen in Italy. So he did what was never accomplished before—formed a Middle Class Union. Everybody who had anything at stake by the preservation of law and order and equal rights and of the possession and protection of the family and the church, and of what one could acquire by his own honest efforts, was called to the standard of law and liberty. It is a miracle, and demonstrates marvelous constructive ability and executive force that this man succeeded so well that he captured the government and became practically its dictator. This middle class constitute everywhere a vast majority of the whole population, and under the inspiration of the movement in Italy they may become a force and be organized for the stability of the Old World.

Happily, with our American standards of liberty, law and representative Government, with our free schools and independent pulpits, with universal suffrage and a free press, no Lenine and no group led by a Lenine and Trotzky will ever be able to

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

engineer in the United States a Communistic revolution, and we never will need or accept a Mussolini.

Well, my friends, we of the United States, with all the blessings which we enjoy, cannot escape the responsibilities we owe to the rest of the world. The radio, the wireless, inventions which are increasing in wonder and bringing the world together as never before, have made isolation impossible. There is a universal horror among our people of entering into any European adventure. The jealousies, the conflicts, the antagonisms of Europe and Asia have caused us more and more to retire within ourselves, but we cannot long resist the call of suffering humanity or of our need of foreign markets. On the charitable side we have done more than ever was done before to feed the starving and clothe the naked everywhere. Now, for the first time since five years of chaos, an opportunity is offered where we can legitimately help. It does not call for American boys to be sent abroad as soldiers to carry out mandates or to pacify countries. It does not call upon us to impose additional burdens of taxation for monies to be spent upon foreign adventures. It is in the line of our Constitution and our institutions. I refer to our joining the World Court. Its organization was largely helped by the constructive genius and legal ability of Elihu Root.

The idea of an international court or peace conference is not new. It has been suggested many times

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

to a war weary world. In 1896, twenty-seven years ago, I delivered the annual address before New York State Bar Association. There were war clouds in the air. I took for my subject the necessity for peace of an International Court of Arbitration. The Association unanimously adopted the suggestion and appointed a committee which prepared and presented a plan to the Government at Washington. Then, in 1899, came from Russia an invitation for the Peace Conference at The Hague, and a second Hague Conference was held in 1907. We were represented and joined in the recommendation for an International Court. Then, in 1920, a general convention of international representative judges and lawyers met at The Hague and prepared the scheme of a court which is substantially the one which President Harding has sent to the Senate.

If the United States should become a member, the Court is no longer localized but universal; its judgment is the judgment of the best sentiment of the world; there can be no question as to the enforcement of its decrees; it is the one power of universal force which will arouse and appeal to public opinion. Public opinion is, even in the most chaotic of countries, a force of supreme authority when once thoroughly aroused. No organization of government in any land would be strong enough to resist successfully the decrees of this Court. In its decisions is the hope not only of the stability of the

THIRTY-SECOND BIRTHDAY SPEECH

world, of the absence of wars, but the reconstruction upon high judicial lines of the relations of governments to each other and of the organization of orderly liberty within the boundaries of all countries.

Out of the troubles of ancient days, the Good Lord evolved the three elements of success and happiness and universal consideration, faith, hope and charity. We have tried charity in our relations with the world. Our hopes have not been entirely justified. But we have not lost faith. I have found, with very broad opportunities for observation and experience, in what can fairly be called a long life and a very active one, that the foundation of hope and of charity, the foundation of love and friendship, the foundations of business and association, the foundations of government and its successful administration and the foundations of relations between man and his God, are all in faith. The man and the woman who are joined together, and have faith in each other, whose children have faith in them, and the whole family which has its faith undisturbed by revolution, by propaganda, by false doctrine, and serenely pursues its way in life under the protecting banner of faith, becomes part of that great and controlling constituency which has made the United States what it is, which will preserve it upon its past principles and traditions and transmit it to posterity as Washington and the fathers of the country hoped it would be.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Well, my old friends, you have smoothed the road, accelerated the pace and added to the joys of travel over the highway of life for a third of a century. With the eighty-ninth milestone behind, I enter upon my ninetieth year. One of the sources of healthy and continuing longevity is to forget everything of the past, except its gifts of pleasure and happiness. I had a friend who on learning of any disease said, "Oh, I have that," and another who believed the wealth of the world would be his, though he never had a dollar. There is misery and worry in extremes, and all the good possible is not at either end but can be found along the middle road.

I have been near enough to vast riches to be grateful for my escape and close enough to bankruptcy to feel its pangs. Death has robbed me of precious lives, but love has alleviated sorrow and glorified the years. Keep appetite within healthful limits and place no boundaries against friends and you will not suffer from physical ills, or feel lonesome in age. The world is full of good men and women who will gladly reciprocate all the cheer and joy they get from you.

Speech at the Thirty-third Annual Dinner of the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of
Mr. Depew's Ninetieth Birthday, April 26, 1924.

My Friends:

The outlook upon life at ninety is necessarily influenced by the past. There are periods, epochs and crises in a career which seriously affect one's life or powers of observation. The disputed theory of evolution is a demonstrated fact as an influence of the years upon character and mind. To the pessimist this is an entirely different world from what it seems to an optimist. I began life with an inherited tendency to look on the dark side and to worry. I persistently practiced a cultivation of humor and have thus overcome this tendency.

My memory goes back for eighty-six years, and the whole of that period, with its experiences and contacts, has been an education. Mr. Sinclair Lewis' illuminating novel "Main Street" has been widely accepted as an accurate picture of village life in the younger settlements of the country, but it has no semblance of the conditions in the older communities of the East. My village, Peekskill-on-the-Hudson, had passed the pioneer period long before the Revolutionary War. It was peopled by families who had traditions and ancestors. The boy

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

or girl, on reaching the period of intelligence, entered at once into educational and social conditions which were the result of its growth and stabilizing characteristics. In the absence of the trained assistants of modern days, it was universally neighborly to help where necessary in the care of the sick or to watch over the dead. The effect of such surroundings and experiences during the formative years created a very democratic apprehension of one's position and duties to his neighbors. Without any lowering of self-respect, or rather the enhancing of it, without any loss of position or suggestion of it, there was universal exchange and interchange, and yet a recognition of the position and power which came from success and intellectual superiority. There was no great wealth and no extreme poverty. Acquaintance was practically universal. From almost infancy to old age, all went to church. The gatherings there for Sunday services, the Sunday school, the weekly prayer-meetings and the social service work were periods of intense community interest. Through them the joy or happiness of an individual or family were participated in by everybody, and a real sympathy which came from rather intimate acquaintance, characteristics and conditions led to practical sympathy for those who required it in the administration of the material side of life.

The familiar head lines in the papers were "Three

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

days later from Europe," and that was due to the arrival of steamers which had been at least ten days on the ocean. It meant that three days had elapsed since the last steamer. It would cause a revolution now to be for that period cut off from the world. We had no European problems and our interests were largely local, except when the time came for a general election. Then party feelings ran high, national and state issues were thoroughly discussed. The population was almost wholly of descent from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, except a few families of French Huguenots. I received the other day a list of children now taking part on the playground in Depew Park, and a majority of them have names indicating immigrants from Continental Europe.

At first we gave asylum to those fleeing from persecution for political or religious liberty; afterwards an intensive propaganda was inaugurated to increase the population on our farms, to build up towns, to extend our manufactory facilities, to open our mines, cut down our forests and promote real estate enterprises, until by inviting and urging the world to share in our most wonderful heritage and our almost exhaustless resources we have given them away. We are now raising the bars against immigration but wholly on economic and labor considerations. The hectic development of our country has permitted a few generations to participate in the

opportunities of a rapid development. The questions arising out of these conditions are no longer practical but interesting academic studies.

Macaulay made the gruesome prophecy that when we had a crowded population and our public lands were exhausted, our form of government could not survive the strain of the struggling millions, and chaos and anarchy would follow. But our people are better off in every way and are enjoying the more cultural results of democracy, as well as material benefits, than were possible when Macaulay became a prophet of disaster. Still it is an interesting inquiry if our present immigration laws had been in force seventy years ago and never liberalized, what would have been the influence of the almost exhaustless wealth of our land? Australia, with about the same area, has so restricted immigration that she can provide homes for the million and a half of the unemployed of Great Britain and still have farms for many millions for generations to come.

The educational influence of a few great writers on their generations continued through life. We wonder and cannot explain why these authors of rare genius have no successors of equal power now. The whole English speaking world felt the force of Walter Scott, Dickens and Thackeray, and also in a lesser but still potential way of Victor Hugo. A novel or story by Dickens was an event. The

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

characters became parts of our family life. We visualized them among our neighbors. Micawber was well known in every community, and many others appeared at parties or at church. Women writers were welcomed when we had so worn off the prejudices of centuries that we could judge their work without thinking they had endangered the home by neglecting their mission of the children, the church and the kitchen. So, Miss Brontë came into her place, and "Jane Eyre" thrilled us, and we welcomed the charm of George Eliot. The field now is both narrowed and enlarged. Our vision encircles the globe and we are in daily contact with events which dwarf our early experiences, and out of which the genius of the past evolved their masterpieces. We are hungry for a master in literature and art, but he fails to materialize. We wander enviously and admiringly through the great periods of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria, and wonder if the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to have no successors.

I enter fully into the appreciation and praise of the wonders of the nineteenth century. Steam is followed by electricity, by radio and radium, and discovery reveals the secrets of nature and overcomes the handicaps on health and longevity until the brain becomes fatigued to understand it all, but the soul starves. The foundations of faith are shaken, and readers of the creed who deny its teachings, and

preachers who want their independence and weaken reverence by denying the divinity of Christ, fill the newspapers and empty the churches. The numbness caused by the appalling tragedies of the Great War and of political revolutions among historic peoples does not require assaults on faith to wake up and interest people, but a revival of the simpler life and comforting belief of normal times. We carry criticism too far and the analytic spirit is rampant. We are like children who dissect that with which they are happy until the sawdust pours out of the doll, or it fails to work when the machinery is wrecked. The age is merciless with its idols and with the revered notables of the past. I was far happier with the authors of the eighteenth century biographies who idealized their heroes. We were very well satisfied and felt an elevation, unusual now, in the lives and achievements of the great characters of our Revolution and the framers of our Constitution. Our blood circulated with delightful rapidity as we read of Washington at the battle of Monmouth, raging at Lee for his treason and cowardice, or at Valley Forge, keeping alive the spirit of his suffering army. Lafayette figured large in our eyes and imagination and gave us an infinite pleasure far different from our feelings as we read the historical surgical operations which diminish his greatness.

I know that Franklin was very human, but I dis-

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

like to be told of his frailties. The wise and genial philosopher, the able and farsighted statesman, the accomplished diplomat, the scientist opening the roads for modern developments, is of infinite inspiration and encouragement. I like to read of Hamilton as the greatest constructive genius in government of his time, and resent the suggestion that if he had to deal with the more complex problems of today, he would fail. Jefferson had faults so grave and in some respect so mean that they seriously affect our admiration, but I like to see him only as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the founder of the University of Virginia. Our country owes much of its present power, prosperity and devotion to liberty to the way that for generations the leaders of the Revolution and of the constitutional period have been idealized.

Queen Victoria reigned for sixty years. During that period the British Empire came into working efficiency and power. The influence of this confederation of free States belting the globe upon the destinies of the world, and the growth of liberal civilization cannot be over-estimated. The Victorian era was distinguished by rare scholarship and high contributions to literature and science. The Victorians have a permanent place in the temple of fame. But a cult has arisen whose mission and labors are to ridicule the time, its authors, its statesmen and its men and women of distinction. To be classed as

of the Victorian period is a term of reproach. No woman sovereign or citizen was ever held in more reverent esteem among her contemporaries, than Queen Victoria. She was an example and an inspiration in the virtues of the wife, the mother and the woman, and received a world tribute as a sovereign. But she has become a helpless victim to this critical age.

Mr. Strachey, a writer of rare genius, of picturesque analysis, of fascinating mental and spiritual surgery, has so dissected her as an administrator and a woman, that the ruler in one of the most brilliant periods in human history is revealed as a skeleton, who in her life was a weak and silly woman and the plumed and fashioned effigy of a Queen. The people laugh, and an outstanding figure of grace, beauty and majesty disappears; one of the inspirations for the school, for society, for the church, for good conduct and good manners in all the relations of life, becomes largely a mockery. This is not the result of any new facts but a skilful allocation of old ones for the amusement of the gallery.

All these destructive efforts are said to be in the interest of truth. The modernist in religion takes away from Christ his divinity and also claims it is to advance truth. He brings to his creed, if it is a creed, not a single item beyond the revelations of the New Testament and the faith of the early

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

fathers, but says he does not see the story that way and glories in smashing the faith, the ideals, the comforting and saving graces which have carried unnumbered millions through happy lives to a death of confidence and hope. I can understand why a communist or an anarchist wants to destroy religion and distort the memory of the Saviour of mankind. They claim that only by confiscating all the accumulated wisdom and treasures of the past can they establish their state.

None can count, none can portray, it is difficult to imagine the power of Washington and Lincoln as symbols in the continuance of American citizenship. In a lesser but still important degree came the fifty-five remarkable men who in secret sessions worked for eighty-one days, and then produced the Constitution of the United States, which Gladstone declared the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man, and which alone of the governments of the world has stood the strain of administrative, territorial and economic expansion for one hundred and thirty-seven years, with no change in its fundamental principles. For generations the great triumvirate, Webster, Clay and Calhoun, educated statesmen and aroused patriotism which in the supreme crises of its fate saved the Union.

In the analysis of life, it is judged by the happiness it enjoys and gives. This being true, it sur-

passes imagination to conceive what benefit the iconoclasts get from their efforts. They surely cannot enjoy the crumbling of their faith. They must be grieved, notwithstanding their stoicism, by the distress and despair of the weaker brethren whose standards they undermine. They substitute intellectual pride for the fundamentals on which the great mass of people rely, and only while sustained by mistaking notoriety for applause can there be solid satisfaction.

Bunyan and Milton had an eternity of joy in the flesh and carried millions into an atmosphere of faith and hope. That brilliant Englishman, Lord Birkenhead, has incurred the severest criticism of the clergy and educators in Great Britain by a rectorial address to the students of the University of Glasgow. In this elaborate and interesting speech he warns of renewal of wars by illustrating that in all ages of the past, the fighting instinct in man has won empires and then destroyed them. He sees the same motives, which have made all history a ghastly chronicle, only waiting for an opportunity. He finds no barriers in leagues and covenants and recklessness of the wreck of civilization and ultimate chaos. It is the strongest presentation yet made of the hopelessness of the world's future.

Never since the dawn of history has there been such a universal prostration as six years ago, at the time of the armistice. For the few years follow-

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ing, conditions became worse. The new nations carved out of old empires, could not adjust themselves to the antagonism and life within their narrow territories; hostile customs barriers and restrictions invited fresh worry, and craving for neighboring provinces inspired preparation and animosity. The old governments which had thus been amputated found it difficult to exist. Economic activities, essential to health and growth, were so paralyzed that listless hunger or savage revolution threatened civilization.

1923 witnessed most hopeful recoveries. Thirty million starving Russians were fed by the generosity of the United States, and Communism, despairing because of the ruin caused by its policies, appealed for help to capitalism abroad and restored capitalism at home, so the individual in business could find his opportunity and reward. Austria was put on its feet and found it could walk. Germany is illustrating an industrial life and activity that only needs patience, prudence and forbearance for resumption of prosperity. France is cultivating her devastated fields and rebuilding her ruined villages, and flowers are blooming on the graves of the heroic dead who gave their lives for civilization and liberty. England has so pluckily and nobly borne her staggering burdens that she has balanced her budget and begun payments on her debts. Her self-governing colonies are demonstrating the boundless energy and hope-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

fulness of youth in the development of their resources. For the United States, 1923 is a banner year. Industry conquered unemployment. The railroads, the arteries of the country's commerce and the barometer of its trade, have had their most prosperous year. A section of our farming territories is suffering from the depression due to the loss of foreign markets and overproduction, but that situation is improving. The savings banks have record breaking deposits. The colleges are overcrowded with eager, ambitious and hopeful youths. Controversies in the churches and unrest in political parties are growing pains. For the first time since the close of the war, conditions have so improved that the people with unusual unanimity are demanding the adoption of the scheme of the Secretary of the Treasury for the reduction of taxes and the wise utilization of our resources for general and individual prosperity.

One's views of the present and future are so governed by individual experience, prosperity or misfortune, by surrounding and temperament that it is difficult to be comprehensive and impartial. At different periods in the past, there have been times of exaltation and depression. The Roman poet Horace sang that with Emperor Augustus had come the golden age, and after would be decline. Gloom and hopelessness followed the fall of the

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Roman Empire, to be succeeded by the most spiritual and intellectual revival.

We lived for over fifty years in fear of the dissolution of the Union and national chaos, to enjoy after severe trials a better, stronger and more prosperous Republic. I have a letter written by my great-grandfather, a successful man of his day, a State Senator and a Judge, telling one of his children that with the election of Jefferson we were on the verge of a repetition of the French revolution in our government and of atheism and agnosticism in our religion. I hope the spirit of the old gentleman is in touch with the infinitely greater, happier and better country enjoyed by his descendants.

A protecting Providence has so far turned the apparent calamities of today into blessings tomorrow. To prevent the increasingly constricting power of Federalism from checking or smothering our proper development, we required the advanced liberalism of Thomas Jefferson. To save us from reactionary and revolutionary conditions, came the constitutional barriers erected by Chief Justice Marshall. Blessings so great and so many that they can neither be classified nor numbered were the final fruitage of our Civil War.

That wise and genial philosopher, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, kept cheerful and hopeful by making Dr. Samuel Johnson of the previous century his guide. Each month Dr. Holmes would turn to

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Boswell's invaluable biography and find what Johnson was doing that month in the preceding century which could be duplicated in the succeeding one. So, Dr. Holmes, better than anyone, visualized at the ten year gatherings of his college class the outlook at each decade. But, unfortunately, he closed the record at the fiftieth anniversary when the classmates were in their seventies. Dr. Osler advised chloroform at forty, and most writers and psychologists put sixty as the limit of useful activity. But the best work of many who have lived properly and encouraged their ambitions has been done after three score.

The third wife of John Milton, the famous poet, was a young woman of beauty, education and charm. She married Milton who was past middle age, blind and exceedingly difficult. She did everything in her power to make him happy and contented, and assisted him in his very exacting literary work. He left her six hundred pounds, or three thousand dollars in American money. With a skill, thrift and economy unknown in our age, she made this small fortune carry her for fifty-three years, and when she died she had about two hundred dollars left. She devoted part of this money to purchase a tombstone and engraved upon it this simple inscription: "Elizabeth, the third and *best* wife of John Milton, the poet." Evidently, the ambition of her life was to identify herself and pass her name

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

down to posterity in this connection with the great author of "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained." I sometimes think Milton's first wife was a shrew and a termagant, and that it was because of her that Milton wrote "Paradise Lost," and it was the charm of his third wife which led him to compose "Paradise Regained." The Miltonic age was rich in its contributions to the advancement of civilization and literature. With all there was of this age and all her experiences in the ninety years of her life, it was nothing to her. It was sufficient that she was the third and *best* wife of the great poet.

My ninety years from 1834 to 1924 have no parallel in recorded time. Its inventions and discoveries and achievements have revolutionized the whole world. In this period, the railroads have made possible the settlement of continents and the creation of cities and villages and the multiplication of happy homes. Steam and its wonders belong to this age. The steamship has conquered the ocean and brought all shores in quick and easy communication. The telegraph and the cable have annihilated space and time. The wireless and radio have brought the air to the service of mankind. The elevator has made possible the skyscraper, and the aeroplane provided new and rapid method of communication. It has been an era of preventive medicine which has redeemed vast areas from disease to health and happy populations. The

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

one work which specially designates the age is emancipation.

In no period of history have there been such contributions to freedom. When Christ began his mission more than half the world was reduced to slavery. In these ninety years, emancipation in the United States released from bondage a whole race and made the Declaration of Independence true in fact as in spirit. The serf was liberated in Russia, but the greatest achievements of emancipation have been in government. Divine right has disappeared and with it inherited tyranny of the ruling families of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns and the Bourbons.

By the sacrifice of fifty millions of lives and the accumulated treasures of a thousand years, the world was made safe for democracy. That the opportunity was not generally improved was because large sections of the population of the globe were unable to grasp the significance and the opportunity which had come to them. In Russia, a new tyranny, more drastic and more terrible than the old, was substituted for the czars'. It is said that the new era has sacrificed nearly three millions of lives to exterminate all who disagreed or could not be brought into subjection to the few who had seized upon all power and confiscated all property. In Italy the people have turned for safety to a dictator, and also in Spain. France has risen with marvelous energy

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

and genius to the understanding and enjoyment of her opportunities. Austria has been saved, and with it her culture and civilization. Germany is rapidly reaching the position which belongs to such a highly developed and cultured people. The traditions, the education and the experience of the English-speaking peoples have made them the chief custodians, saviours and defenders of liberty and civilization.

St. Paul gave the formula for human happiness in "Faith, Hope and Charity, and the greatest of all is Charity." The word for charity and its practices were unknown when Christ began his mission and in international affairs undreamed of. But charity in its widest and most generous application has saved within the last few years over fifty millions from starvation and has placed them upon the road of self-support and contribution to the world's necessities.

During the first half of the period we are discussing, every effort of right-minded people and every sacrifice was made for the increase of liberalism in government, in religion and in thought. This having gained in a marvelous degree freedom for the people, the progressive of today has reversed his tactics and his thought and efforts are to place restrictions upon freedom. He made it possible for the railways to reach their present development and with their expansion to benefit in wonderful measure the whole country. Now his theory

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

about the railroads is to cripple and destroy their credit and all possibilities of their earning means for the expansion required for the development of our industries and our resources. In the same way, the progressive and the radical looks with distrust upon the exercise of the freedom which his predecessors have secured.

I have no fears, however, for the present or the future. On the contrary, I believe that the next ninety years will experience a peace among nations, a mutual helpfulness, a revival of industry and international commerce beyond anything known in the past. I am not disturbed by the religious excitement or controversy which is shaking the land. It all leads to discussion, discussion leads to light and light leads to truth. Publicity is the solvent of most ills. I am still prejudiced, however, if that is the proper feeling, in favor of the Senate, so revered in my boyhood, of Webster, Clay, Calhoun and almost equal associates, rather than in favor of our present "greatest deliberative body on earth."

I remember, as one of the most dramatic scenes I ever witnessed, the mob which swept me down Wall Street on the morning when it was announced that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated. It was a large crowd intent on the murder of all who opposed Mr. Lincoln and the destruction of their property. There suddenly appeared on the balcony of the Custom House a magnificent figure. He at

THIRTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY SPEECH

once arrested the attention of the crowd and stilled its shoutings. Then, with a voice of marvelous power, he restored calmness and sanity by this sentiment, "God reigns and the Republic still lives." The orator was General Garfield.

God reigns today in a way He never did before. In the earlier years of our country, He was almighty but He was distant. Today, He is familiar. This very discussion brings Him into our lives in both a divine and human way as never before. The spirit which enabled our fathers to successfully fight the Revolution and create our wonderful Constitution, which carried us successfully throughout the War of the States and saved the Union and emancipated the slaves, had all its primitive ardor and patriotism when four millions of our boys eagerly accepted the call to arms and carried on heroic service on foreign soil and were the principal factor in the winning of that great victory for civilization and liberty.

Our inspiration for today and the future is: "God reigns and the Republic still lives."

**The Thirty-fourth Annual Dinner given by the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Honor of Mr.
Depew's Ninety-first Birthday, May 2, 1925.**

Mr. William H. English, President of the Club, introducing Mr. Depew, paid him the following eloquent tribute:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Montauk Club tonight welcomes not only its distinguished guest of honor, its members and their guests attending this notable anniversary, but also the Radio Public whom we are happy to have participate in this event with us.

Again we pay tribute to him whose ninety-first birthday we are celebrating tonight.

No other man, I believe, in this or in any other country, has had his birthday celebrated in a manner such as this for thirty-four consecutive years.

For the last few of these, we have been very happy to have had with us his charming wife, to lend her graciousness to the occasion, and tonight we extend to her our special greeting and welcome.

Birthdays are milestones at which to stop and mark progress. When our Guest first visited the Club—back in 1891—he already had to his credit a long line of deeds accomplished and services rendered. Since that first visit he has by no means

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ceased to labor, but has continued to forge ahead, showing the world at large and especially his own countrymen how to be a partisan without rancor, a patriot without hate of other nations, a Christian without bigotry, and a gentleman without class distinction.

Not only in his own progress has he been able to mark with the passing of the years, but the progress of the Nation and of the peoples of the world.

He has watched the Union grow from twenty-eight states to the present forty-eight; from a population of fourteen million to almost one hundred and fourteen million; from a country bounded by the Atlantic and the Mississippi to one stretching from ocean to ocean. He has seen the growth of ocean travel, from the days of the sailing vessel to the present palatial *Leviathan*; of travel by land, from the stage coach to the Twentieth Century Limited; of travel by air, from the time when even talk of such was more than folly, to its present realization in the aeroplane.

But it is futile for me to try to enumerate all the growth and development that has come under his observation. Out of this store of experience and retrospection he will speak to us on "THE WORLD AT NINETY-ONE."

It gives me very great pleasure to have him here tonight and on behalf of the Montauk Club and its guests—and I think I may add, of our Radio Audi-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

ence—to tender our sincere congratulations on his long life of usefulness and honor.

Before proceeding any further, I have a letter to read, and it is from the President of the United States.

My Dear Mr. English: A reminder has just come to me of the fact that the Montauk Club is to give its annual birthday dinner, in honor of Senator Chauncey M. Depew, a few days hence. The pleasure of sending congratulations for this occasion is a greater one with each passing year.

This year, I believe, you are to celebrate the ninety-first anniversary of the Senator. I hope it may be the pleasant duty of myself and my successors to go on sending congratulations for the continuing recurrences of this occasion for a great many years to come. The affection which his multitudes of friends entertain for Senator Depew is a testimony that, after all, republics are not invariably ungrateful.

My best wishes to the Senator, which he is strictly enjoined to share equitably with Mrs. Depew.

Most sincerely yours,

Calvin Coolidge.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have the great pleasure of introducing the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew.

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Ladies and Gentlemen and Fellow Members:

We live in an age of research and question. There never has been a time when investigations were so universal in every department of human interest. The laboratories were never so active, the chemists never so successful, and the inventors never filing so many patents. This urgent desire has entered great universities and museums. It has captured Congress, which gives a large part of its time and thought to investigating committees.

There has come a revival of interest in prehistoric times and the origin of the species. When Darwin first published his startling views on evolution, they were widely discussed and finally generally adopted by the scientific world. In fact, they had not been seriously questioned until William Jennings Bryan, from a religious standpoint, started an agitation for legislation to prevent the Darwinian theories from being taught in the schools and colleges.

Now there is a more extensive effort than ever to find the "missing link" or some trace of the origin of the human species. The heroes of these investigations are armed with a spade and pickaxe. They are doing wonderful work on the sites of the ancient cities and have successfully dug down to prehistoric foundations. Religious people at first distrusted these investigations for fear that their discoveries might contradict in some form the Bible,

but so far they have confirmed the stories of the Sacred Book.

One of the most interesting results of this work is at a strategic point in Palestine, which was on the line of the movement of populations and of armies in ancient and even in prehistoric days. The investigators have found that as each new invasion destroyed the resident populations and burned the city, they built their own capital upon the ruins. This site has yielded historical information running back for six thousand years. It has made clear the history of Abraham and his co-temporaries, and has demonstrated civilization, culture and literature of nations which survived only in tradition. Ancient Carthage is yielding treasures of art and verifying traditions of its history by the patient work of the archeologist with his spade and pickaxe.

We, here tonight, do not go back so far, but we are interested in the same line of thought. This is our thirty-fourth anniversary. It stands unique in the history of club entertainments and in the honors extended to an individual by an association of gentlemen in a social club. Of the three hundred who were present at our first dinner in honor of my birthday, I understand only eighteen survive. It is certainly a source of wonder and gratification that their successors have kept this celebration up with all its original vigor and enthusiasm.

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

One year beyond a third of a century has passed since we first met here to celebrate my birthday. This is my ninety-first. What a wonderful retrospect as we look over the history of the world, the development of the liberty of the people, the expansion of our humanities and the more intimate relations through closer contact, through extraordinary influences of the peoples and the nations of the world. We go through the whole period developed by the researches to which I have referred, and there is no century so remarkable and none which has produced such wonderful results as the one in which we have lived.

I have known more or less intimately fourteen of the thirty Presidents of the United States. Seven of them have occupied that great office during our thirty-four years.

At our first celebration Benjamin Harrison was President of the United States. He was very unpopular because his mannerism offended people who met him, but he is coming rapidly into his own among thoughtful people as one of the ablest and best equipped of our thirty presidents. We had Cleveland who came into office as one of the most popular and went out, nearly by unanimous consent, as one of the most unpopular of the Executives of the nation. But his fame is growing, and he is taking his place among the foremost of the Chief Magistrates of our country. Next came the lovable

McKinley, one of the most companionable, and popular of our presidents, whose fame will rest on the establishment of the gold standard of value. Then came that human dynamo, Theodore Roosevelt. He prevented a European war by forcing the settlement between Russia and Japan; he built the Panama Canal, which had been the dream of statesmen for four hundred years; he settled industrial disputes by his personal influence upon the combatants, and he made himself unpopular by preventing the universal combination of industrial corporations into a few great and overwhelming trusts. We now see that, while the business world was then against him, such combinations would have led to an industrial revolution with the most disastrous consequences. Roosevelt's reputation is rapidly advancing, and the great question is, will he take his place beside the two unquestioned exemplars of all that is best in America—Washington and Lincoln? Next we had Taft, who has attained the unequalled American distinction of occupying both the presidency and the head of the other of the three branches of the government, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a unique distinction never before attained, and probably never will be again. Then we had Woodrow Wilson, in regard to whose fame and place in history there is also a continuous struggle. He at one time, when he went abroad during the Great War, had a prestige

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

which made him the most powerful man in the world, and because of the faith of all peoples, all of whom were in great distress, that in him they saw a possible saviour, he had more power in world affairs than any single man ever possessed. How he lost it is for the future to decide. Harding, prince of good fellows, had an all-embracing interest in the welfare of his country and the world. The outstanding feature of his Administration which will live, is that he originated and carried successfully through the International Peace Conference at Washington. It is the only contribution yet made towards disarmament and prevention of future wars.

And now we have a President who came into office as Vice-President, practically unknown. In seventeen months by his reticence, his plain common sense and practical suggestions, he so captured the judgment of the American people that they chose him as their President by the largest majority ever given for that office. His policies of thrift and economy and of debt reduction for lowering the burden of taxes must become, not the policies of any party, but the popular principles of economic success. Thank God for Coolidge.

We enter upon another field and with amazing results. When we first met here William II was Emperor of Germany; Francis Joseph was Emperor of Austria and Nicholas was Czar of Russia. These three men, representing the historic families of

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Hohenzollern, Hapsburg and Romanoff, practically controlled the destinies of the whole world. Peace or war, with all the consequences of either, and the welfare of the whole human family were largely in the hands of these three autocrats. Their power had grown with the enlargement and expansion of their empires for over five hundred years. These three families seemed so imbedded in the structure of the government of their peoples, that he would have been reckoned a mad man who would have predicted on the night we first met here, that within a third of a century their power would have been destroyed and they would have disappeared.

Andrew Carnegie, striving for peace, called upon Emperor William in 1913 to congratulate him on the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign. The occasion was one of splendor, and the exhibition of power, the consolidation of the forces in army and navy, and in industrial success were such as never before witnessed in the world. The Emperor said to Carnegie, in reply to the philanthropist's congratulations, "I have preserved peace for twenty-five years, and I propose to preserve it for twenty-five more, if God spares my life." Yet, within a year, he had plunged the world into the supreme tragedy of all times. Fifty millions of lives, untold sufferings and agonies of untold millions of people, extending from the centers of civilization to the wilds of Asia and the swamps

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

of Africa, have been the result of the quarrels of the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs and Romanoffs. The Romanoff dynasty died with the family of the Czar. Emperor William is an exile and Germany is a Republic. The old Emperor Joseph died of a broken heart, and his empire has been split up into many separate nationalities.

If wisdom, instead of passion and ambition, had ruled the Conference at Versailles, Prussia would have been left alone by herself; Bavaria and Saxony would have been united to German-Austria, and the fear which now haunts and almost paralyzes Europe of another war, a war of revenge, would have disappeared for ever. There may be other wars, but they will not depend upon the insanity, or the indigestion, or the ambition of any ruling family, or any great ruler. In the cataclysmic changes which have taken place, the king business has fallen into desuetude. There is no king at present who has any autocratic power. Even the Turkish Sultan is an exile, and the Turks have now the approximation of a Republic.

The whole world is now under the domination and control, in one form or another, of a democratic spirit. The democratic spirit is not easily moved to war. The only exception to the power of the people, as we understand it in various countries, is Russia. There a few men are striving to build a government upon a class; they are leaders

who have grasped every source of power and distrust even that class after they have exterminated by terrorism all others. They allow neither a free press, nor free speech, nor any of the civil and religious liberties which are recognized universally as the essence of true democracy. One of the Near East Relief representatives told me that while we saved twenty millions of lives in Russia, if we never had gone there the distress would have overthrown the Soviet Government and the peasants, already educated through generations to certain forms of government and coöperation, would have brought order out of chaos.

Well, my friends, the glory, the prestige, the glittering magnificence and power which amazed and dazed us when we began these entertainments have disappeared. The world has to be governed or else civilization ceases when chaos comes in. The world is governed, but not by people born to rule, not by people of inherited authority, not by people destined apparently by the Almighty for government, but by the business men and bankers of the world. They are the new ruling forces, and their power grows day by day. They may be materialistic in their views, they may lack idealistic and ethical theories, but at the same time they are for law and order, and for that supreme element of stability and justice, the independence and dignity of the individual, his right to earn and his

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

right to be protected in what he earns, and an infallible belief that with home and independence come the salvation of society.

Austria had gone bankrupt and was on the verge of a collapse which would have depopulated Vienna. The business men and the bankers of the civilized countries decided that Austria must be saved. Their representative appeared at that great capital. He had with him the money which was necessary for the reorganization and rescue of the city and its territories; he had the power to prohibit and the power to enforce. Austria got the money necessary for her salvation, and a miracle was performed. Ancient Hungary was on the rocks. The business men and bankers came to the same conclusion and went to the rescue. The result is that Hungary has been saved and is entering upon a new career. The business men and bankers have saved Germany. They are helping France. The salvation of Europe depends largely on the acceptance of the Dawes Plan, and that scheme is the work of the business men and the bankers.

This movement is no ordinary concentration of power in a class or in a business. It is a demonstration that the real power in this world, and in all democratic governments, is the middle class. In this country the middle class constitute nearly our entire population. Every man and every woman who is independent, self-supporting and has reached

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the accumulative period becomes a member of the great middle class. There is nothing now, there never has been anything which equals the tremendous power of this vast body of people in every community who have active minds, settled principles, firm consciences, warm hearts, sympathetic souls for all and independent spirits to look out and enjoy independent lives.

When heredity or the ordinary process of liberty and its development had not united this great middle class for its own protection, Providence has raised a leader equal to the task. This was pre-eminently the case in Italy where, in the darkest hour of communist triumph and chaos in industry and production, Mussolini organized and consolidated the forces of law, order and individual liberty, and has become, by his continuing success, one of the great figures of history.

Standing here at ninety-one, I naturally look back and recall the teachings which have been the source of my inspiration, health and happiness. They came from a remarkably brilliant woman, my Mother. In her simple faith, the outstanding bulwarks of hope and happiness were trust in God, a firm belief that He will relieve critical situations by special Providences, and faith that whatever misfortunes may come they are simply discipline for your good to result in great blessings, if properly studied and acted upon.

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

On that theory the Soviet Government in Russia has so thoroughly demonstrated upon an enormous scale the failure of Communism and the tragic results of its application to the whole population, that it has saved the civilization of the world. In the despair and hopelessness which came from the Great War, the people everywhere were turning desperately to all remedies which were offered. The most persistent in its propaganda was Communism, and it was rapidly pervading the great industrial nations. The example of Russia killed Communism in Continental Europe, in Great Britain, and even in the Far East, while it ended it almost entirely in the United States, South America and Mexico.

The American people knew little of the Constitution of the United States. Few of them had ever read it, or were familiar with its fundamental principles. The candidacy of Senator La Follette expanded into the belief that its chief issue was a complete change in the Constitution of the United States. The study of that wonderful document became universal. It went into debating societies in the schools and colleges; it was discussed in the press and in the weekly and monthly publications; it was a live subject upon the platform at political meetings; the American people became more familiar with the Constitution and what it meant, than if it had been a part of the curriculum in the public schools. The result was an almost

universal belief among the people that the safety of their political, civil and religious liberties depended upon the preservation, intact, of the Constitution of the United States.

This is not the same world at all, in an economic sense, as the one to which I was born ninety-one years ago. Far-seeing political philosophers and publicists were making gloomy prophecies as to the future. They doubted how growing populations were to be supported. Macaulay's famous letter to the author of "The Life of Thomas Jefferson" emphasized the fear. The great historian predicted that when our public lands were exhausted a huge population, which could find no employment or method of earning its bread, would break up society. Then came a wonderful succession of special Providences to take care of this increasing population of all nationalities. The application of coal to the production of steam, and the application of steam to industry, stimulated inventive minds so that great industrial centers began to be created in all civilized countries, and, as in the Scripture story, "the smoke of the factories by day, and their fires by night, led humanity to employment, to opportunity and to success and happiness."

But within our own time have been wonderful characteristics for new employment for people of our century. For instance, electrical service began forty-two years ago when, on September 21st, 1882,

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

Edison turned on the current. The first year it served only 455 customers, and was run at a loss of \$4,400. Today there are 7,000 electrical companies with nearly twelve million customers and over 200,000 employees. Thirty years ago I was one of a committee of judges to test the practicability of the automobile. Twenty-one machines entered the contest for a run of twenty-five miles from the Plaza in New York to Ardsley-on-the-Hudson. Only three arrived, the others broke down. Since then forty billions of dollars have been spent in automobiles. There are seventeen million machines in the United States today, beside those in foreign countries. This vast industry is taking care of millions of people and millions of families.

In 1876 I was offered a one-sixth interest in the Bell Telephone Company and declined, because the greatest electrical expert declared it to me to be a toy. Today it gives employment to hundreds of thousands of people, and is a necessity of every family and every business. The first spadeful of earth for a New York subway was thrown up only twenty-five years ago, and that has given an immense employment, and is carrying billions of people a year. In 1904 the moving picture industry was an experiment and financially a failure, but today there are films demanding such an immense employment, such vast resources, such special genius, that a sin-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

gle film may cost over a million dollars, and the industry itself is taking care of hundreds of thousands of people. The railroad, when I started, was in its infancy. Now it is the symbol and support of prosperity, industry and economic success. It then had very few people on its rolls, but today one-fifth of our population are supported by it. To all these we must add the growth of the aeroplane and the radio. The exhaustion of coal and oil is being made up by the production of electricity by water power which is abundant and eternal.

Here are the material facts which buttress our faith in the United States. They indicate our world leadership. Our national wealth is greater than that of all Europe, and it is owned, in a greater or less degree, by an overwhelming percentage of our population. Twenty-eight millions of our people have savings of over eighteen billions of dollars, and seventy-two millions have insured their lives for over fifty-five billions of dollars, more than all the rest of the world. We have two-fifths of all the railway mileage, and our railroads are owned by nearly two millions of people. We have nearly two-thirds of the automobiles and the telephones of the world. Eleven millions of people and their families, who include more than fifty million persons, own their own homes, and nearly four millions of our farmers own their own farms. The United States spends more for free education for all the people

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

than all the rest of the world put together. The demand for higher education has become universal, and the academies and high schools are turning out ambitious students in such numbers that our colleges and universities are overcrowded. This demonstrates that the substantial resources of the country are in the hands of the people, and that individual rights will be protected by constantly increasing distribution among the people of the resources of the country. I could pursue this review almost indefinitely, but I will add only one suggestion, and that is, that invention has so utilized what was waste production in the origin of most industries, that the waste has become more valuable than the original industry.

The century we are considering is preëminent for its benevolence, charity and religious work. Nothing has ever equalled the contributions of the Rockefeller, Carnegie and Sage Foundations. New York alone spends over eighty millions a year on missions of mercy.

Samuel B. Ruggles, a broadminded citizen and ardent churchman, sixty years ago, started a movement to build the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on what is now known as Cathedral Heights. Intense efforts at that period failed to secure sufficient contributions to make even a beginning of the work. We have recently witnessed an appeal for the same

object, for which the response approaches the marvelous sum of ten millions of dollars.

Most successful men, who from small beginnings have produced prodigious results, have owed their success to their absolute confidence in the future of the United States. Disasters did not discourage them, panics did not frighten them, because they saw that in the end the United States was always a winner. The elements of hope were never so great in our country as they are today. By hope I mean stability in our government, the universal belief in and support of law and order, the protection of life, and the protection of the individual in his liberties and in his property.

The greatest and most beneficial change which has occurred in our time is the improvement of the relations between capital and labor. In the early days all industry belonged to individuals, and there was a constant struggle between the owner and his employees as to the share to which they were entitled. Labor, to protect itself, rushed into unions and legislation. Then the smallest of wage earners, and the poorest paid, was labor. Today there is an extraordinary change. A skilled mechanic earns more than the average storekeeper, lawyer, doctor or minister. He has a surplus which he invests in a home which he owns, in the industry in which he is employed, and in labor banks. The industries have become so vast, and their stockholding inter-

THIRTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY SPEECH

ests so enormous, that all of them are run necessarily by managers. These managers are employees, and so are the whole operating forces of our great industries. The result is, there is an intelligent and almost brotherly coöperation by which capital and labor equally share in the results. Labor is fully protected and is largely satisfied. While the control of these great corporations is entirely in the hands of managers, because the owners have become so numerous and widely scattered, nevertheless the managers are under the control of boards of trustees or directors. It is a wonderful tribute to the business character, uprightness, intelligence and honesty which exist and rule in these boards of directors, that individually and collectively the members take their duties most seriously, act upon their best business judgment for the interest intrusted to their care, and have a most sensitive and highly cultured business conscience.

Two friends of mine, one a very extraordinarily successful man of affairs and captain of industry, and the other a speculator who plunged and won or lost, more by instinct than ability, were discussing whether success in life was due to judgment or luck. The financier said judgment, and the speculator absolutely luck. Said the speculator, "You are a forty-niner; that was an adventure." "Not on my part," said the financier, "but judgment." "You did not go to the gold diggings with

the rest, but became their banker." "Judgment again." "You came to New York at a period when the investment of your money yielded larger returns than at any other period." "Pure judgment." "You doubled your fortune by risking much of it in an enterprise that was dependent on prosperity continuing for a succession of years." "Pure judgment," again said the financier. "Well," said the speculator, "won't you admit then that you are almighty lucky that you have such good judgment?"

So, my friends, I have come to the conclusion, after a long experience and many large observations with mature judgment, properly based, and properly buttressed, that the only sure guides to success are character, health and happiness. Each man of my age receives personally and by letter innumerable inquiries of how to be happy, how to be healthy and how to live long. Happiness has a curious quality in that it increases by its distribution. Longevity is largely a matter of curbing appetites, until temperance and moderation become habits, and from this review which I have made of the world at large, of our own country and our own community, I am more firmly convinced than ever that this is a mighty good world to live in, inhabited by mighty companionable and lovable people, and I want to stay here as long as I can.

Two Anniversaries—The Gridiron Club's Fortieth Anniversary Coincides with Mr. Depew's Ninety-first Birthday

On the twenty-third of April, 1925, the famous Gridiron Club of Washington, D. C., commemorated its fortieth anniversary. Taking place on the same day as Mr. Depew celebrated his ninety-first birthday, he regretfully was compelled to deprive himself of the pleasure of being present.

In 1885, when the club was organized and had its first dinner, about three hundred guests were present. In 1925, it was found that all but Mr. Depew had passed away.

One of the rules of the club is never to publish the proceedings at its dinners, "no reporters being present." This year an exception was made with the following letter which Mr. Depew sent as a tribute to the occasion. It was read and received with tumultuous applause by an audience consisting of the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Cabinet members, Judges of the Supreme Court, Foreign Ambassadors and a host of other celebrities. The letter was given to and sent out by the Associated Press.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

"Mr. J. Harry Cunningham,
Secretary Gridiron Club, Washington, D. C.,

"My Dear Mr. Cunningham:

"That April twenty-third was to be the fortieth anniversary of the Gridiron Club and also the ninety-first of my birth, is a gratifying coincidence, and the remembrances which surround the two would fill a volume.

I remember with keenest interest that first gathering of your association, which has accomplished so much and has become so famous, and it is one of the sad limitations of life that I should be the only surviving guest of that wonderful evening.

It has been my good fortune to have met at your festive board all the Presidents of your period, except Cleveland, who would not come; all the Cabinet ministers, most of the justices of the Supreme Court and those who made themselves famous either permanently or temporarily on Capitol Hill.

Harrison, who became so unpopular because of his harsh mannerism, developed under your genial influence his rare talents and superior gifts. McKinley exhibited with you that wonderful good fellowship which was his greatest political asset. Roosevelt, child of nature never tamed, entered with the most infectious enthusiasm into your play and lost his temper because your skit revealed a weakness in his policy. His furious quarrel with Foraker made a

LETTER TO THE GRIDIRON CLUB

memorable night, but it was outside Gridiron rules. Taft's geniality radiated many a night of glorious time under the Gridiron.

Wilson enjoyed immensely his evening with you, but never gave an indication that he thoroughly understood the humor of the evening. I recall the havoc he created one night when he essayed the Wilson idea of humor. The dollar-a-year men who were famous in many departments of American enterprise were all present. I sat that night in a group of them. Turning to them, the President said, "My troubles with the war are very slight compared with the difficulties of satisfying my distinguished dollar-a-year associates. Each of them thinks he ought to have all attention and is unhappy if any is given to others of his group.

"The result is that I am like an opera impresario, every member of whose troupe wants to be recognized, honored and applauded as the prima donna." I said to the dollar-a-year statesmen, who looked very gloomy, "To whom of you gentlemen does he refer?" They answered in an enthusiastic chorus, "Not me!"

Harding, on Gridiron evenings, distributed joy, happiness and good fellowship, as was his nature. I am sure that everybody appreciates the wisdom when he speaks, and the personality when he does not, of that symbol of sense and sensibility, President Coolidge.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

It was a revelation and all-embracing happiness to be with Mark Hanna on a Gridiron night. Among all events of that remarkably active and dominant life none equaled his enjoyment of Gridiron nights.

One of my most enjoyable excursions was when the Gridiron Club invited me to accompany them on their visit to Charleston, S. C. It was three days of uninterrupted speechmaking and song. On the last day we had luncheon at a hotel in Summerville. While it was in progress there came an earthquake that shook the dining room and gave a premonition of what might have happened if the tremors were enlarged. I was called upon to express our feelings. On such an occasion and under such circumstances my speech, of course, was emotional. Senator Tillman, then just elected, was one of the guests. He had refused to speak to me or answer my salutations. During the course of my speech he shed tears, and at its conclusion came to me and said, "Chauncey Depew, I was mistaken about you; you are a d——n good fellow." From then he abandoned the pitchfork for the toga.

The Gridiron Club is a mirror; it reveals the statesman to himself as he is; it is the greatest, most benevolent and beneficial creation to reduce the abnormal swelling of the head and the enlargement of the chest. It has done and is doing a great work in giving to its guests the best evening to be found anywhere in the United States. It rescues a large

LETTER TO THE GRIDIRON CLUB

number of statesmen who are so obsessed with the idea that they may become President, that they live in a rarefied atmosphere and can do no work.

The Gridiron dissipates the brainstorm and makes men useful Senators. For many years 'Punch' has restored sanity to English public life; the Gridiron Club has done and is doing the same patriotic work for the United States.

With all good wishes that the Gridiron Club may pursue its successful mission perpetually,

Faithfully yours,

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW."

SPEECHES BEFORE
THE PILGRIMS SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES

Speech as President of the Pilgrims Society, at their Celebration of "British Day," Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, December 7, 1918.

My Friends:

After four years of tragedy, it is a glorious thing to breathe normally. It is a pleasure which cannot be expressed in words that we can meet without having our hearts in our mouths. It is a new sensation often prayed for but the realization of which nobody expected to live to see, that an event could occur in which the whole world can rejoice. (Applause.)

We welcome the familiar faces and the well-known voices of other and what seems almost pre-historic days. The calamity howler is again abroad in the land, but he only amuses. The patriot, who sees the ruin of the country unless it goes dry, protection or free trade, according to his ideas of currency, of labor and capital or economic values, has come out of the cave and is again interesting. The citizen, who is unhappy because he sees red across the Pacific or over the Rio Grande, has not yet reappeared, but he will come. The patriot whose only platform was twisting the lion's tail must enlarge his issues to secure an audience. (Applause.) Joy is too unconfined, the glory of it all is too splendid,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the events transpiring and the conclusions to be determined are too great, too all embracing, too infinite for us to know or to feel the pin pricks of the pessimist. We all have our diverging views on the sailing away of our President, but whatever our views we are one in a hearty wish that he may have a safe voyage, a successful outcome of his mission and a safe return. (Applause.)

A great British statesman said to me a year ago, "I am not so much troubled about the outcome of this war because I believe we will be victorious, but I am worried about what will happen when the conference meets around the peace table." Events have moved very rapidly since then. The nations have come closer together, there has been a growing harmony of ideals and of ideals that can be translated into treaties and agreements. The unity of command, which so quickly won our wonderful victory, must be the keynote of this historic gathering at Versailles. (Applause.)

I see in rapid succession a series of pictures upon the walls of memory. I was in London in June, 1914. One of the most distinguished of Great Britain's public men said to me, "On account of the failure of the Home Rule proposals and conditions in Ireland, it looks very much as if we in these islands were on the eve of a bloody revolution." I was in England again in the following October, and Great Britain was a unit to pledge and do every-

“BRITISH DAY” CELEBRATION

thing for national honor and civilization. I was in France in June of the same year, and a French statesman said to me, “In our effort to meet the interest on our vast debt, and with thirty-eight millions of people to maintain an army on a peace footing, absolutely necessary to protect our national life against the threats of Germany, with a population of eighty millions, we have nearly exhausted our resources and credit.” I was in France again in July when the German army had crossed the border and that same statesman said, “Before we surrender we will die.” (Applause.) And since then the French people have lost two millions of men and raised among themselves incredible billions of dollars.

Whenever the word, or the honor of the individuals are worthless, and their obligations repudiated, there is chaos and anarchy. The structure of international peace and comity among nations is built upon the solemnity and sacredness of treaties. European nations had solemnly pledged each other to maintain the neutrality of Belgium. Germany said, “That treaty and all treaties which bar the way to our ambitions or our conquests are scraps of paper.” Great Britain answered, “To keep our word, we will enter this war and pledge all that we have.” Great Britain had at that time what the Kaiser called “the contemptible little army” of one hundred and sixty thousand men. When the ar-

mistice was signed she had raised eight millions. But as always, the British Navy was intact and prepared and that saved the world. (Tremendous applause.) It sailed from all the ports of Great Britain and drew around Germany a wall of steel. That wall of steel enabled American commerce to flow freely between allied and neutral nations across the Atlantic and the Pacific. That wall of steel enabled the British islands to be fed. With that wall of steel and an American and British convoy we were able to carry safely across the Atlantic our glorious army of over two millions of men. That wall protected Canada in her transportation of a million of her sons to do battle on the Western front; it brought from far off Australia and South Africa a million more for heroic service on the side of liberty and humanity; it gave to the world on the side of civilization, whether belligerent or neutral, freedom of the seas. (Thunderous applause.)

After all wars in previous times where allied nations have fought together, the victors have quarreled on the measure of credit which each should receive. For a hundred years the Germans have insisted that, except for the arrival of Blücher and his army on the field of Waterloo, Wellington and the British would have been defeated, and the British have claimed that Wellington had won when Blücher arrived. But happily for the peace of all the future, in the estimate of service, sacrifice and

“BRITISH DAY” CELEBRATION

victory, there is ample in this great triumph to go around. The historic painter of the future can find enough in the achievements of his own countrymen to fill his canvas. Italy's campaign and final triumph finds no parallel in Italian history. The French at Verdun gave to the world its best illustration of invincible heroism and at the Marne saved the world's civilization. The British from the Yser to within the sight of the spires of Paris, and from the fortifications of Paris to the Rhine, have fought and won a series of victories of unparalleled splendor and importance, while the soldiers of Canada and Australia and of South Africa and of India have won imperishable renown. To that also Great Britain may add the wonderful march and successive victories from Bagdad to Jerusalem, from Bethlehem to Nazareth and from Nazareth to Constantinople. (Applause.)

At the critical moment when, after two years and a half, Great Britain, France and Italy were nearly exhausted, two millions of American soldiers appeared on the field and turned the tide of battle. Of many significant conferences from the beginning of this war and ending with that which settles the peace of the world in France, none is of more importance than the War Council between the allied commanders, Marshal Foch, Sir Douglas Haig and Generals Diaz and Pershing. The allied commanders said to General Pershing, "With the Ameri-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

can army we can hold back the enemy until Spring, and during that time the American army can receive the intensive training which we have found necessary to fit our troops, and then we can begin the offensive." Pershing's answer was, "Trust us." The result of that trust was the offensive which began at Chateau Thierry and St. Mihiel and ended at Sedan. (Applause.)

The century between 1815 and 1915 is distinguished by the number of its bloody wars. Very few nations escaped the horrors of these conflicts. But this century has a distinction which will outlive its battlefields. That is, that during the whole of this long period, with many causes for irritation and anger, with thousands of miles of continuous coast line, there has been uninterrupted peace between the United States and Great Britain. (Applause.) The fruitage in the centuries of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the American Declaration of Independence, in common principles and ideals, made war between our countries a crime too vast to be consummated. Great men have won fame by statesmanship which contributed to these results. On our side it was the genius of Daniel Webster, the courage of Charles Francis Adams, the clear vision of Abraham Lincoln, the grasp of a difficult situation of Grover Cleveland and the all embracing ability and experience of Elihu Root. (Applause.) On the British side it was Lord Ash-

“BRITISH DAY” CELEBRATION

burton, John Bright and Lord Salisbury. When Germany, during the Spanish War, tried to form a Holy Alliance against us, it was Arthur Balfour who emphatically vetoed the attempt. (Applause.)

While the great mass of our people felt the tie of a common ancestry and literature, and traditions, there were millions equally good Americans who had come from other lands and to whom these meant nothing. One of the wonderful and beneficent results of this war is that it has united the American people. There is a camaraderie of common blood, but there is also an undying camaraderie of blood shed for a common cause. In this living, fighting, bleeding, dying and unity of thought and action were Americans of all races and ancestry, the sons of the British Isles and the resistless fighters of the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

One of the ties of unity and solvents of difficulties is humor. There are innumerable illustrations of this from the trenches. One I heard the other day. A Yankee and a Tommy had been fighting together and were each desperately wounded. They were great friends and their cots were side by side. When Tommy came to himself he said, “Nurse, what is this on my head?” She answered, “A vinegar poultice, you have fever.” “And what is this on my chest?” She answered, “It is oil, you have had pneumonia.” “And what are my feet in?”

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

She answered, "In salt, they have been frost bitten." And his Yankee comrade said, "Nurse, put a box of pepper on his nose, and he will be a cruet." (Laughter.)

The son of a friend of mine wrote his father, "We are in the trenches alongside a Scotch regiment. A Scotchman on watch could stand the cooties no longer and so he bent over and picked one off from his spine. At that minute the sniper got the range and a bullet went through the Scotchman's cap. If he had been sitting up it would have gone through his head. The Scotch soldier gazed gratefully at the cootie held in his fingers and said, "My little friend, you saved my life. I cannot gie ye the Victoria cross, but I will put ye back." (Laughter.)

One of the most difficult problems before the Peace Conference will be the formation of a league of nations. Many believe it impossible, and many think that without it peace and justice can never be maintained. But, my friends, there is a league of nations that belts the globe, which is all powerful. It is a league held together without formal treaties and alliances. It is a league of common ideals, the same apprehension and practice of liberty and law, the same determination to maintain and defend humanity, right and justice. It is a league brought together as never before by common sacrifices, common sufferings and common victories. It is the league of the English-speaking peoples of the world. (Vociferous and prolonged applause.)

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims
Society to the Earl of Reading upon his
Departure from America, Waldorf-Astoria,
New York, May 1, 1919.

Lord Reading, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To a distinguished guest from abroad, hail and farewell is our mission. Some years ago we had the pleasure and honor of greeting Lord Reading. He has had the most difficult task ever imposed upon an ambassador from Great Britain, but has so discharged the onerous and exacting duties of his great position, and has displayed so much wisdom, tact and eloquence that in going away he carries with him our admiration and affection, and leaves behind with us the profoundest regret that there should be any reason for his return home. (Applause.)

When Lord Reading first came here, the United States had not yet entered the war. Our country was flooded with an exceedingly able, ingenious and subtle German propaganda. Allied with that were hosts of objectors and pacifists sowing the seeds of distrust and appealing to our prejudices, inherited and acquired, ancient and modern. Every expert who had gained an office by his skill of twisting the tail of the British lion was skillfully at work. In

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

combatting these many hostile influences, in appealing to the judgment and the fairness of the American people, in eloquently presenting the mighty issues of liberty and civilization which involved the world, with a tact never surpassed, Lord Reading has done a wonderful work both for his own country and ours. (Cries of Hear! Hear! and applause.)

At the time of Lord Reading's arrival here, the kindly feeling between the United States and Great Britain was a sentiment. It began when John Quincy Adams, chairman of our delegation at the Peace Conference between the United States and Great Britain at Ghent, in 1815, offered at a banquet his famous toast, "That the peace thus might endure for a hundred years." It has overrun the century mark; it has often been strained to the breaking point but never ruptured. (Cries of Hear! Hear!)

This great war, with its awful tragedies and inspiring lessons, has created a new world. American soldiers have fought on the same battle fields for the same ideals with the British, the Canadians, the Australians, the South Africans and the New Zealanders. They have died for the same cause, they have shared the same victory, and the unity of the United States with the other English-speaking peoples of the world has flowered from a sentiment into blood brotherhood. (Applause.)

The influence of the press is an increasing force

FAREWELL TO THE EARL OF READING

in the public opinion of the world. The cable and the wireless, and now the telephone almost encircling the globe, have brought Cabinets in close and intimate relationship, but the personal equation is as vital a force in human affairs as it has been throughout all time. We have recently had a remarkable exhibition of this power when Lloyd George, while absent in Paris, had his hold upon the House of Commons shaken by the criticism of a hostile press, but in a remarkable fighting speech captured the Mother of Parliaments, silenced his enemies and won one of the most significant triumphs of oratory of our time. (Tremendous applause and cries of Hear!)

When I heard that President Roosevelt (applause) was to make some changes in our diplomatic service, I said to him, "I do not want anybody removed, but if you have decided upon that, I have some candidates to suggest." (Laughter.) The President answered, "I am going to make an entire change in the diplomatic service. (Laughter.) While England can decorate her distinguished men by knighthoods, baronetcies and peerages, we have nothing but appointments abroad. On account of the ability of the foreign department of all governments to communicate instantly with each other, the position of Ambassadors and Ministers is more decorative than useful." This was said at the beginning of his term, but he had not been long in

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the presidency before he acknowledged the necessity of the personal equation. The most eminent proof is our guest tonight, (applause) who is one of the few foreigners who understands and speaks the American language. (Applause.) Lord Reading has helped us much in interpreting in his various speeches and revealing the mysteries of the Peace Congress at Paris. He always, fortunately and tactfully, preceded the revelations with a statement that no facts have been confided to him, but that they are psychological deductions. Their demonstrations are proof that he is an expert psychologist. We are all anxious for peace, praying for the treaty to be made and signed.

May I attempt an explanation which comes to me from my experience in the Legislature at Albany and in the Senate at Washington. When representative men gather in conventions and are isolated from their constituencies, they create an atmosphere which is entirely different from that of the rest of the world; (laughter) they act and react upon each other until matters and questions assume huge proportions to them, but are of little moment to those at home. Nobody knows this better than our friend here, Senator O'Gorman. (Laughter.) I have experienced this many times in my legislative career. I remember once saying to a senator, and a very prominent one, while on a visit to Washington, "What is the crucial matter now engaging

FAREWELL TO THE EARL OF READING

the attention of Congress?" One of our tariff bills was under consideration. He answered, "The trouble is sugar, (laughter) and unless that is settled, it will be disastrous to our party and create a dangerous crisis in our finances." He was astonished when I told him that in New York, we neither knew nor cared a rap about the question. Now the whole world stands still, and the critical affairs of Europe, Asia, North and South America are suspended because of Fiume. I can easily see why, after many questions had been satisfactorily settled, Italy threw the bombshell by suddenly announcing that unless she was awarded Fiume, she would quit. I doubt if any of the conferees had ever heard of Fiume, and so they adjourned to find out, and having found out, Fiume became of more critical importance than North and South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia. I may say that we do not care a rap about it up in Peekskill. (Laughter.) We want peace. (Applause.)

Sir Henry Bulwer was the first British Minister who caught on to our American love for public speaking. I recall many of his addresses which were widely published. He captured our Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, and induced him to agree upon the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and more extraordinary still persuaded the Senate to confirm it. By that treaty the United States shared with Great Britain the building, ownership and control of the

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Isthmian Canal. It never could have succeeded and would have been an endless source of dispute and irritation, but, happily, when we were ready to build, that accomplished diplomat, John Hay, was Secretary of State, and that other accomplished diplomat, Lord Pauncefote, British Ambassador. Hays secured what the nation was determined to have, the exclusive ownership of the canal, and Lord Pauncefote got rid of something he did not want, and created the impression that he was making a great sacrifice and a generous gift. The effort was highly appreciated.

I recall Lord Lyons, who held the position during the Civil War. I was Secretary of State of New York at the time and was often in Washington. Lord Lyons was a diplomat of the old school, a bachelor, but lived with all the ceremony and formality of a gentleman of the Victorian era. The bell rang one evening and, without waiting to be announced, into the dining room walked President Lincoln. The diplomat, of course, was equal to the occasion and proposed that the courses, which had been run half through, should begin over again. (Laughter.) Mr. Lincoln said, "No, Lord Lyons, go on with your dinner, and I will browse around." (Laughter.) The President succeeded then and there in settling a very critical matter which seemed beyond the reach of all the ordinary diplomatic channels. (Applause.)

FAREWELL TO THE EARL OF READING

I had a very interesting relationship at one time with the British Foreign Office. Lord Pauncefote had been recalled and was receiving a series of farewell dinners. A gentleman, who was very intimate with Lord Salisbury, said to me, "What do you think of the recall of Lord Pauncefote?" I answered, "It is a great mistake. We are on the eve of a presidential election. Both parties will try to make capital out of the new Ambassador, and it will be almost impossible for him to escape saying or doing something or being charged with saying something which will be regarded as an interference in our domestic affairs, while Lord Pauncefote has been here so long that he is almost one of us, and such an emergency is impossible with him." A few nights afterwards, a farewell dinner was given to the Ambassador by a member of the Cabinet, and as I entered the parlor, Miss Pauncefote said to me, "You did the trick." Lord Pauncefote thanking me said, "I have received a cable from Lord Salisbury saying that my recall is indefinitely postponed. This is advice of Chauncey Depew." (Applause.) I wish I might have influence enough with both Lord Reading and with the British Foreign Office, and in this I express the unanimous wish of the American people, to have his recall indefinitely postponed. (Tremendous applause.)

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Hotel Plaza, New York, November 22, 1919.

Your Royal Highness and Fellow Pilgrims:

Our greeting to a guest from the British Empire is always hail and farewell. We hail him because his coming promotes the objects for which the Pilgrims Societies of Great Britain and the United States exist, and they are to increase and consolidate friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain and cordiality among their peoples. When we bid him farewell, we have always found that the better our two peoples know each other, the better they like each other. Intimacy promotes friendship, peace and good will. Our greeting tonight has a special sentiment. In the great British democracy, while power resides with Parliament, the Sovereign typifies the unity and indissolubility of the government, so that in greeting the heir to the throne and representative of the King, we are extending our welcome to the British Empire, including the islands at home and the self-governing colonies around the world.

This meeting occasions reminiscences. I remember, as if it were yesterday, the visit of King Edward

TRIBUTE TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

VII., then Prince of Wales, fifty-nine years ago. He was a slim lad with flaxen hair and possessed that charming expression, cordiality and tact, which made him afterwards one of the first diplomats of his time. To him more than to anyone will history accord the praise in breaking down the century old prejudices of the French against the English and the bringing about those cordial relations between the two countries which were vital factors in the recent war, and the preservation not only of these countries but of the liberties of the world.

The most interesting studies of history are its contrasts and its parallels. King Edward VII. arrived here on the eve of our Civil War. The irreconcilable differences which had existed since the formation of our government had finally reached a point where they only could be settled by the sword. People of the same race, each believing themselves absolutely right, were feverishly preparing for a death grip. Within a few months after the departure of the Prince the storm broke, and for four bloody years we were involved in the tragedy of Civil War.

There is no festivity which has longer held or more entranced the imagination of succeeding generations than the ball given by the Duchess of Richmond at Brussels before the battle of Waterloo, but of the brave and gallant soldiers who danced so gaily that night in the whirl of merriment few survived the battle which followed. A ball was given

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

at the Academy of Music here to the Prince of Wales. It was the most brilliant of social functions ever given in New York or on the Western Hemisphere. While gaiety reigned supreme, yet in their hearts most of the participants felt that they too were dancing on the eve of a Waterloo. How splendid, how glorious, how inspiring are the changed conditions under which we greet, after fifty-nine eventful years, the grandson of the then Prince of Wales. The war which has involved the whole world is ended. We have just celebrated the anniversary of the day when the armistice was signed, which signalized the end of autocracy, the permanency of peace and orderly liberty and a unity of English speaking peoples beyond our wildest dreams. As the wars of all nations and of all times are insignificant in comparison with the tragedy of the last four years, so in the triumph of right, the joy of victory is far and away above the festivities of the ages which have hailed at different times the advent of peace. (Applause.)

We were rather primitive fifty-nine years ago. Few of our people had been abroad and we cared little for the ceremonies, formalities and conventionalities which are so important in older civilizations, so I may be permitted to recall an incident with which I was personally familiar. The Prince of Wales was received in audience by a very important and distinguished public functionary. When the

TRIBUTE TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

Prince entered the audience chamber this high official rushed forward, grasped him by the hand and in the enthusiasm of his welcome nearly wrenched off the Prince's arm and shouted, "Most welcome, Prince, we are all mighty glad to see you. How is your mother? (Laughter.)

There is a delightful tradition at West Point, that with some choice spirits among the cadets the Prince had a night off. Nights off are now only memories as they probably can never be reënacted. When I came to know the Prince and meet him frequently years after this visit here, I found that he had an invaluable faculty for a public man, that is the ability to remember the names and recall the time and place when he had met anyone. There is no compliment which the average man or woman so cherishes as to thus be remembered by a distinguished man. The Civil War took nearly the whole of West Point into the army. Many of these young men became distinguished generals. Many of them, later in life, visited London. The Prince always looked them up and extended to them every courtesy and hospitality. This friendship for Americans was the characteristic of King Edward VII., both as Prince of Wales and sovereign. In our Civil War, when powerful influences were at work in Great Britain to have the Government recognize the Confederacy, one of the most potent forces in our favor, both with his mother, the

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Queen, and the Government, was the ever friendly Prince of Wales. (Applause.)

The United States and Great Britain have enjoyed one hundred years of peace. There have been many irritations and disputes on boundaries and fisheries and other acute questions, but they have all been happily settled by diplomacy. During these one hundred years right-minded people on both sides of the ocean have labored, written and spoken for unity. They did not reach very far nor very deep because the most important of factors are personal acquaintance and individual contact.

One of the benefits of this war has been in giving us this opportunity. Two millions of our boys crossed the ocean; they were received as brothers in England and treated with every hospitality and consideration. They were together with their British comrades as fellow-soldiers and sailors fighting under entwined flags for the same high ideals. They lived together and many of them died together. Out of this have come millions of missionaries for peace and brotherhood. There is no word so abused, no word so frequently used, no word which has so deep and tender meaning as comrade. With the Russian Bolshevik comrade means the union of one class against all other classes and the destruction of society. In the French revolution it meant the same thing. But among the Americans, the British and the French breaking through the Hindenburg

TRIBUTE TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

line and racing for the Rhine, comrade meant a oneness and a unity in which all could participate. For the first time, I think, since the days of the Black Prince, over five hundred years ago, has an heir to the British throne fought for France. After five hundred years he was not fighting to conquer France but to save France and civilization. There he met our boys in the trenches, over the top and on the battle-field. To me one of the most interesting incidents of his visit was when he went to the hospital at Washington, and among the wounded American heroes there cheered and delighted them by his cordial soldierly greeting, but above all won their hearts by calling them comrades. (Applause.)

As I have been visiting England for more than fifty years, the one thing they cannot understand on the other side is that there still should be a sufficient residuum of hospitality, rising out of conflicts more than a century ago, to be a political asset worth while for a politician to cultivate. We have grown so rapidly from three millions of people, one hundred and forty years ago, to one hundred and ten millions and a world power, that we do not appreciate how young we are. We must remember that while Magna Charta, which is the foundation of the liberties of Great Britain and the United States, was granted seven hundred years ago, that our Revolutionary War closed in 1783 and the next war in 1815. Now as an illustration how young we are, I have

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

talked with the soldiers of every war in which the United States has been engaged, and yet I am not a very old man. It was only a few weeks ago that the whole country was startled and delighted by the appearance of John Shell, a Kentucky farmer, accompanied by his eldest son, ninety and his youngest six years old, to celebrate with irrefutable proofs his 131st birthday. In comparison with such a record I am still a rising young man. (Laughter.)

My grandfather, who was a soldier in the Revolution, talked to me frequently when a young lad about that war. I knew many soldiers of 1812, and among them intimately General John A. Dix, Governor of New York, Minister to France, the Secretary of the Treasury, who issued the famous order, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." I knew many soldiers of the Mexican War of 1848 and of the Spanish War. I was a soldier in the Civil War, and so you can see how it is possible in certain localities and under certain conditions to keep alive old memories. But the schoolbooks and the libraries of the future will be filled with the stories of this greatest of all wars, of camaraderie of the allied armies, of common trials, battles and victories, and of irrefutable proof of the likeness in institutions, liberties, aspirations and ideals of the English-speaking peoples of the world.

No greater proof of how close we are and how

TRIBUTE TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

sensitive we are to each others opinions can be given than this incident. It was reported in the press that an enthusiastic citizen of Boston asked the Prince in Canada, "When will you visit Boston?" and the Prince replied, "Where is Boston?" The effect on that city was electric. The police of Boston left their post, went on a strike and handed the Puritan city over to the mob. Then Boston was not only on the map, it filled the map and received more notice and attention for a week than all the cities of the world put together. But the incident gives another and more vivid illustration of the unity of our civilization and aspirations. The transportation workers of Great Britain went on a strike to paralyze all the industries and all food and coal about the same time that the police of Boston deserted their post. Lloyd George met the situation in England by calling upon the entire population to rally to the support of law, order and liberty. The response was magnificent and reaffirmed the hope of every patriot in the stability of the government and society. So Massachusetts had a Governor of the same principles and tradition, whose historic declaration that treason cannot be arbitrated, was endorsed by the largest popular majority ever given in the old State of Massachusetts for anyone, and that majority vindicated the courage and patriotism of Calvin Coolidge. (Applause.)

The Italian Prime Minister in an address to the

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Italian people a few days before the election last Sunday, recited the many difficulties of his government, the many dangers which threatened. They were financial, economical, domestic and foreign, but he declared that the proper solution of all of them and the safety of the country depended upon the stability of law and order. Centuries have demonstrated in numberless crises and conflicts that with our people and the British law and order are the bedrock for our liberty and civilization.

The League of Nations Treaty is for the present between the upper and nether millstones of the President and the Senate. But a league lives and will live forever and that league is the League of the English-speaking peoples of the world.

This is the last night of His Royal Highness's visit to the United States. Whether as a Canadian, a citizen of New York by official adoption or a Mohawk Indian Chief, we love him. He has captured our people and won our hearts. He carries home our appreciation, our affection and lasting memory. (Applause.)

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims
Society in Honor of Sir Auckland Geddes,
the British Ambassador, Ritz-Carlton Hotel,
New York, May 25, 1920.

Sir Auckland Geddes, and Fellow Pilgrims:

Every society has some mission, responsibilities and duties. Our mission and our responsibilities are to promote and increase cordial relations among English-speaking peoples. But we have a privilege denied to other societies, and that privilege is, in the mission which we have in hand, to receive and to entertain the representative of Great Britain when he comes, and to bid him farewell when he leaves our shores. We give him the hail and farewell. We do more than that. We endeavor to entertain distinguished representatives of every branch of British life, whether they come from Great Britain or from her self-governing colonies around the globe.

We have been very fortunate in having sent to us from Great Britain very remarkable representatives. They have been the men best suited for the mutual relations between our two countries. We remember with gratitude one, a great scholar and great author, whose book on the American Commonwealth is a text-book in our colleges, who did so much while he was here to make us ac-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

quainted with the best there was on his side of the ocean, while he developed and carried back with him the best we had here. I refer to Lord Bryce. (Applause.) We also have in recent and cordial recollection that brilliant lawyer, great judge, remarkable diplomat and many-sided gentleman, Lord Reading. (Applause.) We all had occasion to admire the broad-mindedness of the most level-headed man there is almost in the world—Lord Grey. (Applause.)

At the time when the Balkan States were used as a catspaw by the Kaiser, to bring about war, Lord Grey, by his extraordinary exertions and wonderful skill, maintained peace which afterwards was broken by the refusal of Germany to accept any more of his friendly offerings—I said to an eminent member of the House of Commons, "Tell me about Grey." "Well," he said, "Grey is the one man in the House of Commons who, when he brings in a proposal and has made a speech supporting it, is never answered, because the proposal and the speech are absolutely unanswerable."

But Lord Grey, when he arrived home from his mission to the United States, during the past winter, performed another great service by addressing to the world through the *London Times*, a letter in which he said, "We on this side of the ocean want the United States in our council. We do not care how she comes, under what conditions she

WELCOME TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

comes, what limitations she puts upon herself, what promises she exacts, we want her." The proposition was in a broad way very much like a man who has fallen madly in love with a girl, and he says to her, "I want you to marry me. I don't want your money, nor any interest in it, now or hereafter; I don't care what your religion is, nor what your politics may be; you can leave the word 'obey' out of the religious ceremony, or anything else you like; what I want is you for my companion through life." (Applause.) Now, with the same vision which has characterized the Foreign Office of Great Britain, they have sent here the present Ambassador. He meets the requirements of the place, particularly at the present crisis and emergency. He understands us. He has been here frequently, and he knows and speaks the American language. (Laughter.) His career has been what we think typical American, and though it happens in other countries, we do not often admit it.

Almost every enterprise in this country, our great corporations, railways, industrial, banking or what not, have at their heads men who started at the bottom and early in life reached the top. So our friend, becoming a physician and a professor of anatomy, moved by patriotism, enlisted in the army and advanced rapidly in that profession. Then the Government discovered he had other talents which they needed in civil life. Bonar Law,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, said that Marshall Foch told him that the most remarkable thing he knew in the whole history of war and especially this war, was when after the British had been driven back to the Channel, their morale shaken, their regiments depleted and in shattered condition, they called for the organization of the man-power of Great Britain, and within an incredibly short space of time millions of men were organized and sent across the Channel. Old regiments were filled up and new ones added to the army. The munition factories were supplied with new workmen, and then Sir Bonar Law added, "That great work of organization was done by the best organizer we have, Sir Auckland Geddes." (Applause.)

We are now in a particularly nervous condition, owing to the results of the war, and it is very fortunate that the Ambassador is a distinguished physician as well as a Professor of Anatomy. (Applause.)

I have a special tie to the Ambassador, which is personal to myself. Westchester County, as you know—I will just inform the Ambassador about it—is the great county of the State of New York. It was there that most of the events of our patriotic history were enacted. We up in Westchester are very fond and great admirers of each other. Only fourteen miles separate Peekskill and Dobbs Ferry,

WELCOME TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

both in Westchester County. I was born in Peekskill, and the wife of the Ambassador was born in Dobbs Ferry. (Laughter and applause.)

It is quite natural that the world should be in a condition of extreme tension, after the terrible tragedy through which it has gone, and especially with a knowledge of the suffering which remains. We, with the British, the Canadians, the Australians, the New Zealanders and the South Africans, fought under the supreme leadership of Marshall Foch, with a camaraderie on the field of battle, off the field and after the battle, and a camaraderie when the war was over, which has never been equalled among allies fighting together. But naturally and necessarily, when we get home and the adjustments come, this extreme nervousness produces an irritation which is easily aroused by what in ordinary times would be a mere pin-prick. That is always the case in families and among relatives. I remember two brothers who had made a wonderful success, and each would tell me privately that he could have made a much greater success if it had not been for his brother, but if you agreed with him you were his enemy for life. Many of those things have occurred recently which have been taken advantage of by the press and by agitators who want to make trouble.

Some remarks uttered at Washington made France and Italy mad as hornets, but when sixty-one mem-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

bers of the House of Representatives sent a letter to Lloyd George, stating to him that in the interest of civilization and the respect of the world, he ought to change his policy and his laws, he did not get mad. He reminds me more than any other statesman in England I have ever known, of our friend, my friend of long ago, James G. Blaine. Lloyd George, when he received the message, simply dropped one lid over an optic and remarked, "Your election occurs, I think, in about three months. (Laughter and applause.) I have just been through it myself. I hope you will have the same success I had." (Laughter.)

No one can ever tell what is going to happen as the result of a committee of investigation. It never turns out as its promoters intended and very generally they are most disappointed. Now, in the recent investigation of naval affairs, Admiral Sims said that he had been told by the Chief of the Naval Organization, that he must look out for the British and see that they did not pull the wool over his eyes, and that we would just as soon fight the British as the Germans. That testimony shocked everybody on both sides of the Atlantic. It created a sensation, and yet, when Admiral Benson, who was the head of the naval personnel, came to testify, his was the most human utterance of which I know. He said, "Yes, I said that, but what I meant was to stir up Sims who, I thought, was a little lacking in

WELCOME TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

the energy and enterprise necessary for success. As for hating the British, I love them. The best times I ever had in my life were when I was enjoying the hospitality of the English. What I was looking forward to with the greatest pleasure when my vacation came, was to go over to England and enjoy that hospitality again." Then with a tear in his eye he added, "But I cannot, because Sims spilled the beans."

My friends, notwithstanding all this, when history comes to be written, when the story of this wonderful period gets into the libraries and becomes a part of the study of the schools, then all these irritations of a nervous period will disappear. Then will be told marvelous stories of this war, marvelous stories of these navies, the American and the British; then will be told that when they came together for two years, there never had been officers who were in such absolute harmony, and men on such friendly and cordial relations, where, working together in unity, both of counsel and action, they kept open that Channel where millions of men went backwards and forwards, kept open one of the seas to the North, swept away the minefields, and then did what was practically a miracle—convoyed over two million American troops almost without the loss of a man or a vessel. (Applause.)

But, my friends, when we look about for the real sources and the foundations of our mutual good-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

will, notwithstanding the irritations that arise, we can remember that old line of, I think, Sir Walter Raleigh, "The surface murmurs but the depths are dumb."

During President Lincoln's Administration, I had the good and rare fortune to spend several months in Washington. I was there as Secretary of State of New York in order to locate the units of the soldiers from New York, and get their votes for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln. I came in contact with all the leading members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the members of the President's Cabinet. Remarkable men they were, but the most remarkable was President Lincoln. (Applause.)

Now, we have never had presented to us the reincarnation of those individuals, nor the recreation of the atmosphere of that period. But a young English playwright has done it. I went the other day to see Drinkwater's Abraham Lincoln. It has been played for over two years in London, and is still going with crowded houses, and with greater interest than any other play which has appeared during that time. Why is this? It is because two hundred and fifty years ago an English family left Norwich, came over to America and settled in the wilderness. The great-grandson of that father and mother, without the opportunities or the training for public life which belonged to the privileges in

the East, had devolved upon him the loftiest position and the greatest responsibility of his time or of any time. With marvelous genius, almost miraculous, he saved and reunited his country, did things which preserved liberty, took slavery out of the Declaration of Independence and made it free and thereby he left to posterity the greatest heritage which one man or any man could leave. He did all this with a resourcefulness, with a charity, with a liberality that has never been exhibited before. What was the lesson? These English people coming night after night, week after week and month after month, to see this play, saw in this marvelous man that he was one of themselves who, when he had the opportunity and the greatest responsibilities devolved upon him, would meet them all, no matter under which flag or in what part of this world.

Well, Sir Auckland, you come here at a happy period, because this is the year of the Centennial of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. A little band of English Liberals who could not get either civil or religious freedom in their own country, though they understood it perfectly well, braved the perils of the Atlantic ocean and came here to see if they could not establish it in the wilderness. If they had tried it anywhere in Europe, except in Holland, they would have been hung, but nobody cared for them here, and here they worked out the story of the problem of liberty. In the cabin of the *May-*

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

flower, a few days before they landed, which will be celebrated next December, they enacted a charter, the shortest ever written, and the most momentous. "We organize," they wrote, "a government of just and equal laws." That was then unknown anywhere in the world. That government of "just and equal laws" was carried across the continent by the descendants of these people who brought with them the schoolhouse and the church, until one hundred and odd years afterwards they were strong enough to stand alone. They added then to "just and equal laws" that marvelous Declaration of Independence which declares that "all men are created equal and endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." As time went on, those people increased to a hundred and odd millions, covered the continent and became one of the greatest people in the world, and still with the lesson and the principles of the charter of the *Mayflower* and of the Declaration of Independence. Meanwhile England had evolved into a democracy, as free as any there is in the world, and her great colonies around the globe had developed upon the same lines and institutions as ours.

Then were gathered the forces of autocracy, the forces of militarism and of divine right to crush representative government and the liberty of the individual. Great Britain and her colonies, France and Italy fought heroically until a crisis arose when

WELCOME TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

they were imperilled. Then, with all the forces, all the might, all the resources, the people with the same principles on this side of the ocean, entered into the contest, and we won the battle for representative government and the liberty of the individual.

Now, my friends, we are under the responsibility of keeping these lessons and these liberties alive in the world, of granting them to those who do not have them, and of defending them for those who have them. But the hope of the world is that if peril ever arises and those principles are again at stake, their safety and their defense will be found in the English-speaking peoples of the world. (Tremendous applause.)

It is now my great privilege and honor and pleasure of presenting to you the British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes. (Applause.)

Speech at the Luncheon given to the Representatives of Great Britain and Holland, who were Attending the Celebration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, September 29, 1920.

My Friends:

Our meeting here today is unique and original. The Pilgrims Societies of Great Britain and the United States were organized to promote international good will between the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain. The English Society has entertained our ambassadors and distinguished men and has done splendid work in making our soldiers and sailors feel at home. We here in New York have given hail and farewell to the ambassadors of Great Britain. We have welcomed representatives of every department of English life and of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain. But our gathering today is not a greeting but a family reunion.

We left the old home in and about Plymouth three hundred years ago, sailed across the Atlantic and settled in the American wilderness. After three hundred years the families are getting together. Notwithstanding our long separation we recognize

ANNIVERSARY OF LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

you from the family likeness. We understand what you say; we are in accord with what you think and you act just as if you were our own folks.

We did not part three hundred years ago in a very friendly spirit, in fact, we were driven away from home. Our differences were religious, and in that age there could be no reconciliation among the opposing religious beliefs. Those who had the government and its powers in their hands had no patience with those who disagreed with them. They honestly thought they were doing God's service in punishing heretics by imprisonment or death. It was a quarrel really between the vast majority who believed in ceremonials and symbols and the small minority, who thought all these evidences of churchly pride and magnificence stood between the individual and God and prevented close communion.

I remember the Puritan standpoint being very clearly stated by President Day of Yale College. This was more than sixty years ago, and President Day was at that time over ninety years of age. So you see that we are in close contact with the Puritan. President Day said, "We, who settled in New England, believed that cathedrals and clergy in splendid vestments and choral service of high artistic merit were rather a hindrance than a help to the souls who wanted to lean upon the Lord and secure His help. The simpler the building and its equipment, the nearer, we believed, He was the worshipper. So

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

our meeting houses were plain board structures, the furniture wooden seats and a wooden pulpit, but the spirit of the Lord was there, and every worshipper without any human intervention or symbol or ceremonies was talking straight with his Maker and receiving the aid, the comfort or encouragement which he desired. So, four hundred of these Puritans, who could no longer enjoy without molestation their methods of worship, sailed for Holland."

I am a believer in special Providences. The special Providence which permits our celebration to-day, and others which will follow, is that Holland at that period had civil and religious liberty for all, and that the North American continent had been kept as a primitive wilderness through all the ages, waiting for the advent of civil and religious liberty.

When our Pilgrims arrived in Holland they found to their amazement that there was universal tolerance. Protestants of all sects, Catholics and Jews could worship as they desired and thought best, the only restriction being that no one was permitted to interfere with any other worshipper. These Pilgrims, in the true spirit of the age, were just as tolerant as their brethren in England from whom they had separated. According to the belief of all religions everywhere except in Holland, all who differed with them were heterodox, and it was the duty of the orthodox to exterminate the heterodox. These four hundred Pilgrims, who differed widely among

ANNIVERSARY OF LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

themselves, got together under the influence of liberal Holland. For their great mission they needed preparation. During their eleven years in Holland, they enjoyed its public schools, its universities, its culture and liberal thought and action. At the end of that period, they were prepared for the high mission of establishing a free republic on the North American continent.

The Pilgrim colony at Plymouth never hung witches nor expelled those who differed with them in religion nor prosecuted those of alien belief, but they welcomed all who were compelled to flee from the persecution of the Puritans who came afterwards and settled in Massachusetts. Those people, persecuted because of their faith, found protection and homes among the Dutch in New York and among the Plymouth Pilgrims whom the Dutch had educated and liberalized during their stay in Holland.

These Pilgrims assembled in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and organized a government. The charter which they prepared said, "We will form a government of just and equal laws." There was no government like that anywhere in the world. That government of just and equal laws spread over the country for one hundred and forty years and then evolved into the Declaration of Independence, which declared, that "all men are created equal, with certain unalienable rights, among which are life,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and after independence still further progressed and was crystallized into the Constitution of the United States, which Gladstone declared to be the most perfect document that ever came from the hands of man. Practically unchanged in its essential features, it is today meeting all the requirements of forty-eight States, as well as it did for thirteen and preserving the rights, the liberties, the opportunities, the development and the expansion of one hundred and fourteen millions of people, as well as it did the three millions when it was enacted. This spark of liberty lighted by these one hundred and two English men and women in the cabin of the *Mayflower* created a flame, which is lighting and enlightening the whole world. It has made Great Britain one of the most responsible of democracies, it has made France a republic, it has liberated Italy. At tremendous sacrifices it has smashed the military autocracy of Germany, Austria and Turkey.

Gentlemen, we rejoice that you who are now living in the old home, the liberalized old home, have come here after three centuries to join with us in celebrating an event of which we are all the inheritors. We rejoice that the representatives of Holland are also with us to see what has come out of the hospitality which they extended to our Pilgrim Fathers.

There is one feature of the Pilgrim development

ANNIVERSARY OF LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

very little noticed but of tremendous significance when communism is trying so hard to capture the world. These open minded Pilgrims gave it a fair trial. They had the finest opportunity ever offered to put it into practice. There was a whole continent before them and absolute freedom of action. But in this community of goods and of property with no individual rights, their colony was starving in the midst of plenty. They discovered that the basic principle of human effort and success is the incentive to the individual to own and enjoy for himself and his posterity whatever his genius, his ability, his industry and his thrift acquired. With communism abolished and this principle inaugurated, we have the settlement and the development of the American continent, with its cities, its villages, its factories and its farms, its system of transportation and its interallied industries, the most prosperous and powerful nation on the globe.

Now, my friends, there are fourteen millions of our people who can claim kinship and descent from these Plymouth emigrants. You will find that, as a rule, they own the homes in which they live and are prosperous in the occupations which they have adopted. If you will visit a thousand of their homes, you will be welcomed as members of the family long lost and lately returned. Each of these households will point with infinite pride to a bureau, a table, a bedstead or a vehicle of solid

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

mahogany, which the ancestor brought over in the *Mayflower*. If you value your life, do not question the authenticity of this relic. You may say to yourselves, we have seen enough of these evidences of thrift of the fathers to fill the *Mauretania* and the *Aquitania*, with enough left over for the *Imperator*, and how could it all have been stowed away in the *Mayflower* of seventy tons. But, my friends, the manufacturers of Plymouth may have possessed three hundred years ago an art of compressing furniture for transportation, which must be included in the vast lamented category "the lost arts." If you go to Plymouth you will find the rock on which the Pilgrims landed. It has been taken out of the ocean and planted in the public square, so that you can stand on it, as did Miles Standish and Governor Bradford and Priscilla, and without wetting your feet. You can also ponder upon that problem of the monks of the Middle Ages, whether an angel could stand on the point of a needle, and if it can be solved on the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims when numberless millions of the spirits of those who lived and rejoiced and died in the Pilgrim faith will stand without crowding on Plymouth Rock.

The civilization and the liberties of the world are largely dependent upon the union and friendship of English-speaking peoples. We got together and made peace in 1815, and that has lasted un-

ANNIVERSARY OF LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

broken for one hundred and five years. We got together again in 1820, when President Monroe and Prime Minister George Canning agreed upon what is now known as the Monroe Doctrine. May the sentiment which inspired this family reunion after three hundred years, bind together the English-speaking peoples of the world, each nationality pursuing its own destiny and development in its own way, but all having the same ideals of liberty and civilization and be prepared to unite again, as they did in 1918, for their protection and preservation.

Speech at the Luncheon given by the Executive
Committee of the Pilgrims Society to Sir
Arthur Willert, of the British Foreign Office,
Union League Club, New York, June 1, 1921.

*Sir Arthur Willert and Gentlemen of the Pilgrims
Society:*

It is our privilege to have as our guest a gentleman who by long residence knows our country and is brought into close relations with us in the British Foreign Office.

It is unfortunate that we cannot meet oftener for the purpose of our organization and the needs of these critical times. Never in history has the peace of the world been so necessary. The economic conditions of every country are such that it would require only a small disturbance to plunge one after another into bankruptcy. Lloyd George, with his great faculty of concentrative statement, said the other day in the House of Commons when the relations between Great Britain and France were strained almost to breaking point, "Another war and Europe would be in chaos."

For the last quarter of a century or more, an effort to break the peace of the world could always be looked for in the Balkans. Now we have many Balkans spoiling for a fight. The nations created out of the Austrian Empire, the Baltic States of

LUNCHEON TO SIR ARTHUR WILLERT

Russia and out of Turkey are ready and eager to fly at each others throats. They have little or no national credit, their economic conditions are as bad as possible, and yet each of them is seeking opportunity to make war on a neighbor if only the Allies can be involved. It seems singular that there should be such madness among nations who find it difficult to stand alone and need help to walk, but it is in human nature. Only experience can create wisdom and discretion.

We had a similar experience in the early days of our own history. A majority of our people were determined that we should enter the wars of Europe. We had neither money nor credit, nor an army, nor a navy, and if we had followed these radical impulses our nationality would have been destroyed. We were saved by the overwhelming authority of President Washington. He was able to control the madness until the people recovered sanity. There is no outstanding statesman whose authority in the world can approach the strength of Washington in our country at that period, but there is a substitute if they can only think together, meet together and work together, and that is the English-speaking peoples of the world.

If there could be a tribunal, a court or a council in perpetual session and composed of representatives of the United States and Great Britain, and her self-governing colonies, that association could

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

maintain the peace of the world with the resources, the power, the liberty and civilization which it would represent.

Even the big powers are not free from the craze for big armaments, and big armaments challenge hostilities. We, who fought for preparedness at the time of the great European war, knew that the tremendous power and preparations of Germany and her Allies endangered the liberties of every country and our conceptions of civilization, but autocratic power and militarism have been broken and are no longer a peril.

What the world needs today is peace and disarmament. Without a reduction of taxes and government burdens there cannot be economic and business reconstruction. Increase of armaments means increasing taxation and government burdens. The United States was never so safe as today. We have four millions of trained soldiers ready and patriotic. They can drive any invader into the sea. There is no conceivable condition under which any European power will attack us, but the advocates of increased armaments shout Japan. Japan is three thousand miles away. Our Navy is already larger than Japan's will be with the increase which she proposes. One of the ablest Admirals in the United States Navy told me the other day in Washington that a fleet of submarines could prevent a fleet carrying an army from crossing the Pacific ocean.

LUNCHEON TO SIR ARTHUR WILLERT

Japan is far from ever entering upon such a mad enterprise, and would have against her also the public opinion and possibly the power of all the other nations. We should enter at once into negotiations with Great Britain, France and Japan for disarmament.

We have just celebrated Decoration Day. I remember the first. I was the orator at my home, and among the decorated graves were the mothers of those who made the last sacrifice for their country. But last Monday was Decoration Day not only in the United States but in every country where American soldiers have died for civilization and liberty. There was no American's grave anywhere that was not appropriately decorated whether in the United States, in Great Britain, in France, Belgium or Germany.

Napoleon once said, "Imagination governs the world." This age has been criticized as being materialistic but is controlled by sentiment. When Great Britain decided to enter the war to protect her treaty with Belgium, it was the highest idealism influencing statesmanship. Belgium's hopeless resistance was one of the superb sacrifices in history for patriotism, nationality and freedom. France was inspired by the sacred fire ever burning in that beautiful country and among that great people for home and country. Whatever patriotic reason the United States had for participating in the war, the

compelling motive was to save liberty and civilization.

It has been a disagreeable experience for those who have been working for so many years for harmonious relations to have read what is so common in our papers recently, articles decrying the time honored expressions of good will which have long been popular on both sides of the Atlantic. They say, that the phrase "the kin across the sea", which was coined by Mr. Gladstone, has been used up; that common language and literature and common heritage in the historic monuments and literary classics of our language have become tiresome. But there are some things that are always new and always arouse the same emotions—the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule and the Law of Love: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." We hear them preached and always with delight from youth to old age.

Our soldiers' graves have always been decorated with all the flowers of our beautiful month of May. But now our dead are buried in "Flanders field where poppies blow." Under this inspiration the poppy must become an international flower and Decoration Day an international day. It is a wonderful picture that with each recurring anniversary the sun in its rising around the world will be met by countless thousands of all nations wearing the poppy, the emblem of supreme devotion and patrio-

LUNCHEON TO SIR ARTHUR WILLERT

tism. Surely it is that flower and that day which must unite the peoples of the world for peace, civilization and liberty. From these sacred graves comes this message:

“Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you, from failing hands, we throw
The torch. Be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields.

**Tribute to Admiral Beatty, at the Dinner given
in his Honor by the Pilgrims Society, Waldorf-
Astoria, New York, October 27, 1921.**

*Admiral Beatty and Gentlemen of the Pilgrims
Society:*

We have passed through several stages of the Great War: First, preparation, then the battles with their dead and wounded, then the settlement after the victory. Now we have reached that most gratifying period when we can pay tribute to the leaders whose genius won the triumph for liberty and civilization on sea and land, and their gallant followers, the sailors and soldiers, and their commanders.

History is a process of elimination. Events follow so rapidly and are of such transcendent importance, and the actors in them are so numerous that only a few leaders are remembered as the symbols of their times. When the world was reconstructed about two thousand years ago, there were many who contributed in war and in peace, but we remember only as the representative of the centurions, the great Cæsar. Of the many actors in the drama of the seventeenth century, which gave to the world liberty and representative government, we recognize the supremacy and leadership of Washington. Out of the mighty events of the eighteenth century

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which created modern Europe, we remember Napoleon, Wellington and Nelson. So in this greatest of all wars our memory carried in the midst of the conflict scores of heroes and statesmen of different nationalities, but already though the time is so brief since its close, the knightly figure which largely fills the mind and imagination is that of Admiral Beatty.

In the United States and most countries the army takes precedence, but in England it is the navy. The navy is mentioned first officially, and tribute is paid to it before the army on all public occasions. I remember a remarkable instance of this which occurred some years ago in London when I happened to be there. For the first time in a thousand years, or since William the Conqueror, England was successfully invaded. The victorious army was the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston. It was said, as a consequence of their wonderful battles, that until restocked London after their visit ran dry. At the banquet given by them in return for the many hospitalities received, the toastmaster of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, as is usual with us, proposed the health of the British army and navy. The Prince of Wales, always alert and tactful, had it corrected immediately to the navy and the army.

In a century of peace between the United States and Great Britain, this glorious condition has been

often emphasized by commanders of American and British men-of-war. When the British fleet needed help in the Chinese war, it was Commodore Tatnall and his fleet which came to their assistance. When he was called to account afterwards, the inevitable investigation committee of Congress asked him why we, a neutral nation, should have committed such a breach of neutrality; the Admiral's answer was, "Blood is thicker than water."

At a dinner in London I sat beside that gallant sailor, Captain Chichester of the British navy. I told him of the appreciation of the American people of his action at Manila, in aid of Admiral Dewey. He said: "When the German admiral moved his ship so as to prevent Admiral Dewey attacking the enemy, I at once placed my ship in a position to command the German and notified him that if he interfered he must fight me first, because blood is thicker than water."

A few years before the Great War, Admiral Sims made a speech at a banquet in London. It was a Sims speech, and he said things which made his countrymen glad but incurred the criticism of the Navy Department because it was against the rules. I think the talent which gets the Admiral into these healthy scraps is the same as that which made him the most successful commander of the torpedo fleet. Admiral Sims on that occasion said that in any great trouble in which Great Britain might be be-

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cause of fighting for principles in which the United States believed, she could count upon America because, said the Admiral, "Blood is thicker than water."

The German Emperor complained to our government of Admiral Sims, and the Admiral was reprimanded by the Secretary of the Navy. But recollection of this incident was one of the reasons why when we entered the war, that Admiral Sims was made Commander in Chief of the American fleet in European waters, to coöperate with the British fleet.

History is full of stories of alliances of different nations in the prosecution of war. It is seldom that the allied armies and navies have been in perfect accord and unison, but never was witnessed such complete union in sentiment, ambition and activities as between the American and the British battle fleets after the United States entered the war. In perfect harmony they blockaded a coast line and protected stormy seas which extended from the Arctic Circle to the Adriatic. They accomplished in unison the most remarkable naval strategy in ancient or modern times. They had the submarines, an enemy of unknown and untried possibilities, to meet and deal with, and a convoy to protect of unequalled importance. The ocean was infested with these submarines which had already sunk a vast

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

amount of merchant ships, not only of allied nations, but also of neutral ones.

The Germans arrogantly ordered all nations off the seas. But the United States was pledged to go with all its resources to the assistance of the Allies. Vast quantities of munitions of war and provisions were carried across the Atlantic, and over two millions of American soldiers were landed safely in France. At a critical period of the contest, or rather at its very crisis, the American and British navies combined, met the situation with a skill, a courage and tenacity unequalled in the wonderful story of naval warfare.

A distinguished doctor at a medical convention in Chicago said recently, that among the wonders of radium he had discovered a new use of its marvelous properties in prolonging life, in energizing mind and muscles. The rays emanating from it concentrated in a pill had enabled a man of ninety odd years to enter the athletic field and kick the ball away from the champions. It was frequently demonstrated during the war that the American and the British sailors and marines never needed artificial stimulus or radium. When fighting they never reckoned the risk, but they reached the objective and to win the victory enthusiastically gave their lives.

It is one of the wonders of this tragical period that it has produced no Milton, Shakespeare or

TRIBUTE TO ADMIRAL BEATTY

Macaulay, no Walter Scott or Dickens, no Thackeray or Irving. But no fiction or history could surpass in interest or thrilling narrative the official report of the closing of the harbors of Zeebrugge and Ostend, the nest of the submarines. The *Vindictive* through a hail of shot and shell reaching the mole and sinking to obstruct the channel; the valor, endurance and skill of officers and men, who, knowing their peril, also knew the purpose of their fight; those who died and those who survived, all shed imperishable renown upon the British navy.

Arthur J. Balfour is the veteran statesman of his country. He has always been a warm friend of the United States and a powerful advocate for cordial relations between our countries. No one is more competent than he to estimate the value of the events with which he is so familiar. He said soon after the fight that the battle of Jutland marked the turn of the tide in favor of the Allies. The hero of that glorious struggle is our guest tonight. Probably no battle in naval history has been more criticized than the battle of Jutland, but our answer to all criticism is that the German fleet sailed back to the safety of their harbor anchorage and never again came out. Admiral Beatty forged gallantly ahead, and at the close of the war was in command of the Grand Fleet, both British and American, which received the surrender of the German navy.

It is a peculiar distinction of this war that so

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

many wonderful things happened which had not occurred in other great struggles. It is the only time I can remember following peace and victory, that the entire navy of the defeated nation was surrendered. No such panorama was ever seen on the sea as the sailing of these battleships, cruisers and torpedo boats through the lines of the Allied fleet to their final surrender and internment.

There was one incident in that historic drama which again marked the renewal and strengthening of the ties which bind English-speaking peoples. King George on his way to the flagship of Admiral Beatty, paid first a visit of compliment and congratulation to the *New York*, the flagship of Admiral Sims. Then for the first time since the American navy began under Paul Jones, more than one hundred and forty years ago, the British Royal Standard was unfurled alongside of the Stars and Stripes from the masts of the *New York*. The King saluting declared he hoped that in the future in the annual maneuvers of the United States navy the British might be represented, and in the annual maneuvers of the British navy the American fleet might participate.

The inspiration of the navies of the United States and Great Britain are Lord Nelson and Admiral Mahan. The fame of the great English Admiral increases with the years. I witnessed a touching tribute in London a few years since at an exhibition

TRIBUTE TO ADMIRAL BEATTY

of relics of Nelson and the *Victory*. As the custodian told the story and of Nelson's dying request to his aid: "Kiss me, Hardy," the whole audience were in tears, as if the tragedy had taken place yesterday.

Interest in the navy was decreasing in all countries. In the United States appropriations were inadequate and secured from Congress with difficulty. The same was true of Great Britain when Admiral Mahan's volume of the vital necessity of sea power suddenly revolutionized public opinion and revived enthusiasm for this arm of public defence. King Edward VII. said to me: "We are deeply indebted to your Admiral Mahan. He has done more than any one else to awaken our people to the necessity of maintaining an adequate navy."

We owe the presence in our country of men famous in statesmanship and arms to the admirable suggestion and request for an international conference at Washington for limitation of armaments by President Harding. We give hail and welcome of the New World to the men who have made the Old World new: The delegates to the conference from all countries—Foch, Diaz, Lloyd George, Briand, Balfour and the rest. But this night is Admiral Beatty's. God bless him.

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims
Society to Sir Auckland Geddes, the British
Ambassador, Plaza Hotel, New York, April
21, 1922.

Sir Auckland Geddes and Fellow Pilgrims:

Our meeting here tonight is an anniversary. It is more than that, it celebrates the fulfillment of a promise made two years ago. It was then our privilege to have as our guest, Sir Auckland Geddes. He had just arrived here as the British Ambassador. Certainly, not in modern times had there been a period when such confusion, chaos and tragedy existed in the world. The Ambassador had as predecessors a long line of distinguished men. They were famous in literature, in the law, on the bench and in public life. They were all trained diplomats. Sir Auckland Geddes succeeded one of the ablest and most versatile of English statesmen. He had been in public life for a very brief period, but not in diplomacy. His distinction had been won in a profession, which, I think, so far as I know, had never before furnished an ambassador; he was a doctor and in his specialty the most eminent of anatomists. He made a speech here, one of the few efforts of that kind which at once settled the controversy. Our press and Congress were full of charges that oil, which had become one of the most

TRIBUTE TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

essential of international fuels, had been absorbed by Great Britain, and the United States was deprived of its share, or of any share almost. With a clarity and lucidity which left no possibility or doubt, the Ambassador took oil out of the discussion, out of Congress and off the front page of the American press. It was a great service because in those heated days it took very little to arouse national animosity and stir up strife. We then hailed him as a great Ambassador with wonderful promise in the promotion of peace and good will between our two countries.

Two years have passed by and the Ambassador has made good. It was a sick world when he entered the service and it needed a doctor. Great empires had been torn in pieces, the fragments had been created into sovereign nations, the economic conditions were never so bad and chaos and anarchy were constant threats and easy prophecies. The world needed not only a doctor but an anatomist.

One of the most eminent English statesmen said to me during the war, "Since the United States has come in, there can be no doubt as to the result. The one thing I fear is, what will happen when the victors gather around the council table. Everyone of the previous gatherings after a great war has made settlements and created conditions which had in them the seeds of future troubles. The reason is the greed of the delegates. Each wants the

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

largest possible share of the spoils." The statesman's fears were realized at Versailles. The assets of the enemy Allies were arbitrarily disposed of. Continents, islands, ocean areas and spheres of influence were distributed. All were greedy for the spoil and all shared in the spoil except the United States. Happily, we were there without any demands except for justice and liberty.

Another conference was absolutely necessary if the world was to go on. Nations were increasing armaments and piling up debts with a recklessness and rapidity which threatened early and universal bankruptcy. The United States was the only country which could call such a conference and the situation was happily understood and acted upon by President Harding. A library has been filled with important books by distinguished men trying to explain what the Versailles Conference did. Mr. Keynes, Mr. Dillon and Secretary Lansing have all tried to enlighten the world. Their works have been supplemented by innumerable volumes from lesser authorities. It is the distinction of the conference at Washington that it has required no interpreter, the whole world has thoroughly understood it and acquiesced in its results. No one contributed more to the success of that conference than Sir Auckland Geddes. Any association which meets for the settlement of difficulties, whether they be among nations or among individuals, whether they

TRIBUTE TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

be international, economic, or social, must as a preliminary have confidence among its members.

In his two years of service, Sir Auckland Geddes has won the friendship and respect of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State and of the Foreign Relations Committees of the two houses of Congress. His entrance into the conference as a delegate from his own country was an assurance of success. Happily, in that great assemblage was Arthur James Balfour. Mr. Balfour is not only a veteran and most distinguished statesman but has through his whole public life been a warm friend of the United States. When during the Spanish War, the sympathies of monarchical continental nations of Europe were so strongly for Spain and so hostile to the United States that they were combining to interfere, it was Mr. Balfour who possessed the power and absolutely prevented that combination.

Before the conference were, what seemed almost insoluble perils. There was the secret alliance between Great Britain and Japan which had assumed in public opinion enormous proportions of danger on the Pacific. Because of those fears the Pacific nations were feverishly building dreadnaughts against each other. So strong had become the feeling of the necessity for hostile preparations that our Congress had before it a program of naval building which would have made us the greatest naval

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

power in the world, with an annual expense greater than the whole cost of Government prior to the war.

The admirable speech of President Harding in opening the conference, was followed by the surprise of Mr. Hughes, in which he said the American program is that we stop building warships against each other; that we scrap such a proportion of what we have; that your share is so much; you, Great Britain; you, Japan; you, France; you, Italy; are you ready? In thirty minutes Mr. Balfour, after consulting with Sir Auckland Geddes, said, "Great Britain assents," and the success of the conference was assured.

Then came the abandonment of the secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan, and in its place a new treaty under which the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France bind themselves for ten years to maintain peace on and around the Pacific ocean, and more than that to protect the rights and independence of China.

There were other good things done in that conference which lifted a great burden from the world and inspired among all peoples a hope for national and international efforts for the restoration and the ultimate prosperity and mutual intercourse of prosperous and burdened nations.

We were magnificently represented. President Harding, Secretary Hughes, ex-Senator Root and

TRIBUTE TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

Senators Lodge and Underwood were of our best. So were the other nations that took part in the conference represented by broadminded and liberal statesmen, but the ultimate success of the measures adopted by the conference, the success of other conferences which must follow and the ultimate pacification and restoration of the world are dependent largely upon the English-speaking nations, and when we speak of the English-speaking nations acting in unison, we must remember their leaders. However much we may differ, and we do differ with him, whatever may be our antagonistic views as to his policies and purposes, certainly we can all agree that as one of the representatives of the English-speaking nations of the world there is no more able, adroit, wise, tactful and resourceful statesman than Lloyd George. We are a parliamentary people and love its contests and its victories. The way in which Mr. Lloyd George has turned defeats into victories and battled and defeated his enemies who had assembled for his wake has been unequalled by any statesman in any country.

I have seen and participated in many great changes in my life. It has been a long one and a happy one, and in three days will come its eighty-eighth anniversary. As illustrative of a changed world, in 1866 I became a member of the diplomatic corps. Once a diplomat, always a diplomat, and so I am the dean of that honorable organization.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

I was appointed and commissioned as United States Minister to Japan. At that time it took six months to communicate with Japan and six months to receive an answer. Japan then had just been opened to the world, it had been a hermit nation, its navies were composed of junks and its troops were armed with bows, arrows and protected by armor. Forty years after, Japan had advanced in modern arts, sciences and education as much as Europe in six hundred years. Her right to live was challenged by one of the then greatest of military nations, Russia, and Japan crushed the armies of Russia and annihilated its navy. Still greater marvel is Japan of today, because of the treaty which came out of this conference. Japan is one of the Four Powers dominating and controlling the Pacific ocean.

The glory of this conference is that it sets the example for the future. It is that it has created a world public opinion, and that public opinion is so strong that no nation can defy it and survive. It is that the future difficulties of the world must be submitted, not to the arbitrament of arms, but to peaceful arbitration. But out of every great triumph come some tragedies. The "yellow peril," the possible invasion of the United States by Japan has created both orators and editors. There are 75,000 Japanese on the Pacific coast. I have sometimes believed, as I have listened to fervid orators

TRIBUTE TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

describing what they might accomplish, that there were seventy-five millions. Now that the British-Japanese treaty of alliance no longer exists, now that we are one of the Four Powers, with Japan to keep peace in the East, now that we have agreed to stop building ships against each other, what becomes of this oratory which has made congressmen and senators and candidates for the presidency of the United States?

But there is another condition, also disastrous to oratory, which has been successful for more than a century in creating statesmen and semi-statesmen. If, as we hope, the Irish settlement succeeds; if, as we hope, the Irish Free State ultimately embraces the whole of the island; if, as we hope, the Irish Free State, developing under its own genius and institutions, as Canada has, becomes one of the most important and vital parts of the British Empire, as well as of the English-speaking peoples of the world—then there is an end of that most popular exercise “twisting the tail of the British lion.” We will have to re-write our speeches and re-arrange our issues.

So, gentlemen, with our best wishes for his long continuance in our country as the representative of Great Britain, we greet Sir Auckland Geddes.

Speech at the Luncheon given by the Pilgrims
Society to Viscount Burnham, Bankers' Club,
New York, January 23, 1923.

Lord Burnham and Fellow Pilgrims:

It is the purpose and ambition of the Pilgrims to maintain and promote cordial relations between English-speaking peoples. For that purpose we have entertained representatives of nearly every department in the life and activities of our friends across the seas. We have had ambassadors who were interesting but kept their secrets, and heroes of the navy and army of world-wide fame. Governors and prime ministers of the self-governing colonies of the British Empire have given illuminating views; science and art have had contributing exponents.

It is our privilege today to welcome the proprietor and editor of one of the leading newspapers of Great Britain which has great influence all over Europe. The London *Telegraph* owes much of its position and power to the directing genius of our guest. The value of his services to good government, to education and to the promotion of liberty and civilization has been recognized by the honors conferred upon him not only by his own country, but by all the continental powers in Europe. After distinguished services for many years in the House

of Commons, a grateful country conferred upon him the peerage. During all this long and intensely active and most useful career, Lord Burnham has made journalism the motive power of his life, and to it has devoted his concentrated energies. He has been offered and declined more offices of importance than any of his countrymen, because he felt it his duty and pleasure to make the London *Telegraph* a leading organ of public opinion.

When Edmund Burke in an impassioned burst of oratory pointed at the reporters' gallery in the House of Commons and called the press the "Fourth Estate," he little dreamed of the power which the press was to exercise in the future. He never imagined that in time the "Fourth Estate" would be in a large measure influential in the activities of the throne, the parliament and the church.

The first diplomat sent abroad by the American colonies in the difficulties and irritations which were arising between them and the mother country, was our most influential journalist, Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was one of the foremost men of his time. Matthew Arnold characterized him as one of the foremost of all times. He was a statesman, a philosopher, a scientist and inventor, but principally and at all times a journalist. The weekly paper which he founded has today, under its present management, the largest circulation with corresponding influence in the world. By his dis-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

coveries in electricity he became the father of the development of that mysterious influence which is today the greatest motive force and with larger probabilities than any creation of this century.

In the early days of American journalism our great newspapers were personal organs. When I first entered public life, we never spoke of the *Tribune*, the *Times* or the *Herald*, but it was always what Greeley, Raymond or Bennett were saying. If we left the Metropolis, it was what Thurlow Weed, Joe Medill and George W. Childs were advocating or attacking.

I became a member of the New York Legislature sixty-two years ago and have been ever since on the public platform. I then became exceedingly sensitive to the opinion of the public press, and that impression has deepened with the years. Sir Edwin Arnold told me when he was, I think, an editor of the London *Telegraph*, that the life of a journalist would be very enjoyable if it were not made miserable by the persistent appeals, day and night, of distinguished politicians to favor their ambitions or to diminish criticisms which they deserved.

It has been a frequent and most interesting inquiry as to what degree the world thinks, or how and to what extent thinking is furnished for the people. Life is intensely competitive, and we all of us are absorbed in our individual ambitions, necessities and duties. Government and religion,

VISCOUNT BURNHAM AND THE PRESS

the one giving us law, order and liberty, without which we cannot get on in this world, and the other preparing us for happiness in the next, demand an immense amount of careful thinking. This is very difficult, but while we are all on the farms, in the factories, in the professions, in the railroads and in merchandise giving our minds and time to the affairs of our families and ourselves, the newspapers are largely our thinking machines, like the prayer wheels of the inhabitants of Thibet.

When I was on a political campaign many years ago, I said to a farmer friend, "How are politics going on in your neighborhood?" "Well," he answered, "my neighbor, who is a Democrat, got the better of me yesterday, but to-morrow old Greeley will arrive and then I'll smash him to bits." By "Old Greeley" he meant the *Weekly Tribune*, which was at that time the most influential organ of thought of the Republican Party.

A few evenings ago I spoke on the Radio and was heard for thousands of miles and beyond the sea. Last week the President of the American Telephone Company called through the telephone: "Hello, London, this is New York talking," and the two great capitals became neighbors.

As the world is becoming more unified by the cable, the telephone, the wireless and the radio, the present difficulties which are threatening it with chaos and anarchy will be settled and must be set-

tled by an overwhelming public opinion. The newspapers, which create and guide this majestic force and power, occupy one great editorial room with adjoining desks by means of these marvelous methods of communication. They must create public opinion, acting and reacting without regard to national boundaries, and to that must be added in some form an interlocking method for promoting world peace, civilization and liberty.

The English-speaking peoples of the world, with the stability of their governments and the prosperity of their peoples, must have a controlling influence. They are largely united in thought and aspirations, but they must act together to help a disordered world. Happily, the difficulties in the way of harmonious opinion and action are being rapidly removed. One of the most important, if not the most important, of these fortunate happenings has been the creation of the Free State of Ireland, the Irish controlling their own destinies, a work to the triumph of which our guest has been a valuable contributor.

There is a capital story of General Kitchener, that most brilliant of soldiers and hardest of bachelors. A young officer in India asked leave to go back to England and get married. The stern general said, "Getting married is very serious business. Wait a year and then, if you are of the same mind, I will give you leave of absence." At the end of

the year the young officer again made his application. The general granted his request and complimented him upon his constancy. The young officer turned as he was leaving and said, "General, I think in view of your compliment I ought to tell you it is not the same girl."

Since their treaty of good will of 1815, Uncle Sam and Britannia have maintained amicable relations. It has always been the same girl. At no time during the past one hundred and eight years has their friendship been so important to the world as it is now. In present chaotic and tragic conditions the stability and security of civilization depend upon the coöperation and assistance of the English-speaking peoples.

It gives me much pleasure to introduce our distinguished guest, Lord Burnham.

Speech at the Dinner given to the Dean of Windsor by the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Ritz-Carlton, New York, February 1, 1923.

Dean and Fellow Pilgrims:

We as a society have been fortunate in having as our guests representatives of nearly all the four great estates of government. The ambassador, in the absence of the king, represents the throne. Last week we had the "Fourth Estate," the press, in the person of that distinguished representative, Lord Burnham. Tonight we have the church. It may seem strange, but nevertheless it is true that the aim and the end of the church and the pilgrims are the same, but it is only for this world. The motto and inspiration of both are "Peace on earth and good will toward men." In the present conditions all around the globe it is very difficult of practice and enforcement.

In nearly seventy years of close study and contact with affairs and opinions at home and abroad, I have never met such a continuing and rising wave of pessimism as is now overwhelming the world. Speeches made by representative men during the last few months are full of predictions of disaster. Returning travelers from Europe and the Near East give interviews in the press which are full of gloom.

THE DEAN OF WINDSOR AND THE CHURCH

The news from Lausanne, where the conference of the powers of Europe and the Near East is in session, is full of war and rumors of war. The cables tell us through the newspapers that there is a serious disagreement among the Allies. Ten years ago, and during centuries before that, the peace of the world, and the breaking out of devastating wars depended almost entirely upon one Kaiser, one Czar and one Emperor. Those three men were the arbiters of the happiness of untold millions of human beings. As the result of the World War they have disappeared. The destinies of nations today are not dynastic but economic.

Let us think of the reasons for encouragement and hope. Here are some of them. The difference in economic conditions among English-speaking peoples between the deflation time of 1921 and now is an evolution from bankruptcy to prosperity. Great Britain is showing a great and progressive improvement in her industries, trade and unemployment. The same is true of her self-governing colonies. With us in the United States the improvement in our business situation, in our employment of capital and labor, in our productiveness and markets is shown in every department of American activities.

The crux of war or peace is now not the ambitions or indigestion of an autocrat, but whether a nation can balance its budget. Dispatches from Washing-

ton this morning tell us that President Harding and the Secretary of the Treasury have balanced the American budget with a fine reduction in the national debt. The visit of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer recently to Washington was because Great Britain could both balance her budget and assure the payment of her debt.

When we look at the conditions, economic, political and industrial, in most other countries, especially Russia, and compare them with those of the English-speaking peoples of the world, we must conclude that religion and the church have much to do with them. In Russia, under the Czar, the church was used as a political instrument, with the Czar as Pope. The result was disastrous to spirituality and individuality. The Soviet Government practices the same tyranny with the same instruments in the suppression of free speech and free press and the use of a secret police with arbitrary powers over life and property, which were used by the Czar. It cannot use the church under its system and so has set about deliberately to destroy it. I believe that out of its martyrdom will come a purified church from which will arise the salvation of Russia.

There never was a time when peace and civilization required for their preservation so much harmony, cordiality and coöperation among English-speaking peoples as today. The only difference

THE DEAN OF WINDSOR AND THE CHURCH

between us now is in reference to the British debt, which was happily brought toward a settlement yesterday by the acceptance of the American terms.

The English-speaking peoples of the world are by tradition, habit and practice trading peoples. The trading genius of the people of Great Britain has extended their empire around the globe, so that in the daily revolution of the earth the sun is greeted every hour by the British flag. The trading genius of our own people has conquered a continent and turned it from a wilderness into happy homes and productive enterprises. With the possession of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands we have become partners in the vast possibilities of the Pacific. In general the practice of these universal traders is that when a debtor, who is hard pressed and has to make great sacrifices to meet his obligations, comes to his creditor and says, "I am here to suffer every hardship and make every sacrifice in order to pay you my debt, but my burden will be almost too great if I also must meet a large interest charge," the creditor is so overjoyed to receive his principal, and he has so much admiration for the honesty and pluck of his debtor that he slaps him on the back and says, "Old man, I'll help you all I can in your splendid work of recovery and rehabilitation." I trust that Congress, in spite of all the blocs, will so act when the President's message transmits to it

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the American terms and the acceptance by the British Government.

In my yearly vacation visits abroad, I saw much of the public life of Great Britain during the period of Gladstone's power and activities. I remember hearing in Westminster Abbey a sermon of Canon Farrar, which in finish and beauty of thought and expression was worthy of a place among the classics of English literature. I heard the next Sunday a sermon by Spurgeon, which might have been preached by the chaplain of Oliver Cromwell, as an inspiration for Naseby and Marston Moor. I felt then that the church in its culture and in its rugged strength represented the vitality and spirituality of British thought and activities. I found when Mr. Gladstone was at the height of his power and forcing his Home Rule bill through the House of Commons, that few of his colleagues were in harmony with his policies. I said to one of the most distinguished of the Cabinet members, "With this disagreement, why do you follow him so implicitly?" He answered, "Because Mr. Gladstone has behind him the absolute confidence of the religious people of the country, and without them we could not remain in power, and with them we can succeed in all the policies of our government."

I came one year in conflict with the church. A Church Conference was held at that time in London, and attended by delegates from America, Great

THE DEAN OF WINDSOR AND THE CHURCH

Britain and its self-governing colonies. A dinner was arranged for me to meet Mr. Gladstone, but an American bishop, who was a famous athlete in college, made a leap to the vacant chair which had been reserved for me alongside the Premier, and he occupied his attention the whole evening. Happily, I met Mr. Gladstone many times afterwards.

One of the American bishops told me an interesting anecdote of this conference. The bishops greeted each other by their titles. For instance, the Bishop of London would say to the Bishop of Liverpool, "Good morning, Liverpool," and the Bishop of Liverpool would respond to his brother London. The English bishops had great trouble with the American bishops whose dioceses had American Indian names. They got along very well with the Bishop of New York, or the Bishop of Pennsylvania, but they could not get Michigan, who was most popular among them. At one of their meetings, a cordial English bishop grasped the hand of the Bishop of Michigan and said, "I am so glad to see you, my Chicken, and congratulate you on that magnificent address of yesterday."

Our guest of this evening is most fortunate in the honors which he has received. It is a great distinction to be the Dean of Windsor and hold high office in that great Order of the Garter. He is brought into close and intimate contact with the

King and the Queen. He lives in the traditions of Windsor, of which the most important and glorious are the sixty odd years there of Queen Victoria.

The United States and Great Britain have had uninterrupted and peaceful relations during one hundred and eight years, since the treaty of Ghent. They came near being broken during the Civil War. I remember the crisis very keenly. Lord Russell, the Foreign Minister, prepared a demand from the British Government to the United States. Our very able Minister, Charles Francis Adams, read it and said, "My Lord, that means war." The entrance of Great Britain on the side of the Confederacy would have been very serious to Mr. Lincoln and the Union cause at that time. Happily, the message could not be sent until approved by Queen Victoria. She not only disapproved but turned it into a message of peace.

Sir Henry Irving told an interesting story which illustrates the embarrassments that are possible to the chaplain at Windsor. He persuaded Disraeli, the Prime Minister, to appoint a nephew of his, who was a young curate, to the staff of the Dean of Windsor. His nephew came to Irving in great distress and said, "Everybody else has failed, and I am assigned to preach the sermon. What am I to do?" Sir Henry took him to Disraeli. When that inscrutable genius heard the young curate's story, he said, "My young friend, if you preach thirty min-

THE DEAN OF WINDSOR AND THE CHURCH

utes, Her Majesty will be bored. If you preach fifteen minutes, Her Majesty will be pleased. If you preach ten minutes, Her Majesty will be delighted." "But," said the young curate, "what on earth, my Lord, can a preacher say in ten minutes?" "Well," said Disraeli, "that will be a matter of utter indifference to Her Majesty."

Our guest here tonight has won distinction and his place in the Church of England, because he has always adjusted the time and the presentation of the truth to the necessity of the hour.

I have the great pleasure to present the Dean of Windsor.

Speech at the Luncheon given by the Pilgrims
Society to the Professors in English from
English Universities, Bankers' Club, New York,
June 14, 1923.

*My Friends and Fellow-Members of the Pilgrims
Society:*

We are enjoying an unusual privilege in having as our guests today these distinguished scholars from England. They are professors in English at the various universities of England and here in a convention at Columbia University with professors in English from American colleges. I feel a natural hesitance and timidity in speaking before them. I learned English about ninety years ago in the village of Peekskill-on-the-Hudson, where I was born and still retain my Peekskill accent. However, our glorious tongue is so adaptable that it is understood wherever spoken.

The mission of our Society and that of its sister organization in England is to promote friendship among English-speaking peoples. Our guests, as a rule, have been of the official class representing the Government in its various departments and especially diplomacy. But nothing can help our mission so much as visits of distinguished teachers who are preserving and perfecting our English language.

PROFESSORS FROM ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

The wise and foresighted Washington left in his will an endowment for a university to be established at our Capital, the City of Washington, which should educate students from every State in our Union with the idea that this Union in college life and alumni associations of the youth from every part of the country would be the greatest agency for the perpetual union of the States of our Republic.

Cecil Rhodes has contributed and enlarged this idea by including all parts of the English-speaking world. Mrs. Davison has admirably contributed by her provision for British students in American colleges. Our fellow-member, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, is delivering illuminating addresses at English seats of learning upon the foundation of a broad-minded philanthropist. It is thus, happily, that now educational agencies are every year adding to the friendship and coöperation in world affairs of the English-speaking peoples.

Among our distinguished visitors is Sir Israel Gollancz, one of the most eminent of Shakespearean scholars. Shakespeare died four years before that immortal band of Pilgrims sailed from Plymouth, England, to the wilderness of New England. England at that period had about four million inhabitants. What is now the United States had only a few hundred settlers in Virginia and a few Spaniards in Florida. But today the rising sun is greeted every hour, as it circles the globe, with the English

language. The people who are using it are active and progressive representatives of the liberty, civilization, industries, education and free governments of the world.

This conversation and intercommunication among peoples ascending from city and village, forest and farm, factories and ships on the sea, concern the affairs of those who built and are building prosperous states and developing them in the best interest of humanity. But there is one sentiment which distinguishes this world circling utterance arising to heaven by its unanimity, its fervor and its faith, and that is "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

We in our various vocations and professions are deeply interested in one of the purposes of our guests in their visit, and that is the universal celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the First Folio of Shakespeare. It was one of the most beneficent and far-reaching of miracles that the writings of this myriad-minded genius were gathered from the lumber rooms of theatres, from the equipment of actors and from all descriptions of perishable repositories and published in permanent form for the education and inspiration of posterity.

It is an event in the history of literature of unequalled importance. The works of Shakespeare have been of incalculable value in dissipating national prejudices and enmities and promoting inter-

PROFESSORS FROM ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

national intercourse, good will and peace. His plays have been translated into every language of the world which has a literature and acted upon the stage of every people who have a theatre. We Americans have infinite pride in the fact that we are the equal inheritors, with all other English-speaking peoples, of this great treasure and tradition.

When I was a student at Yale University, seventy years ago, I knew that energetic and talented young lady, Miss Bacon, daughter of one of the greatest preachers in New England. Her faith and belief that everything of value in the intellectual world had come from Lord Bacon, led her to advance the claim that Bacon was the author of Shakespeare's works. It is astonishing what a wonderful success it had, but its advocates have never been able to get over Ben Jonson's immortal tribute in the preface to the First Folio. Ben Jonson was Shakespeare's intimate friend.

Well, my friends, it is my painful duty to notify you that an officer in our city government of New York, who is at once an investigator and a censor, has discovered and published a report that a vast conspiracy is on foot to make the United States a dependency of the British Empire. Eight of the best and most distinguished American historians, according to this officer, have published histories with the purpose of aiding this propaganda. He also

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

charges that these interchanges between Americans and British, promoted by patriotic associations, have the same object in view. Among the offenders he particularizes are the Pilgrims Society of the United States and the English-speaking unions of this country. For those who are inclined to materialize dreams and believe that rainbows end in gold mines, here is proof of the conspiracy. These professors of the English language are here in unison with the professors from our colleges. They are promoting the celebration of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's Folio.

Sir Conan Doyle, another distinguished English author, is here lecturing and bringing upon the platform eminent persons from the other world. He will materialize Shakespeare, and Shakespeare will take a leading part in this movement to make the United States a dependency of Great Britain. The celebration of the third centenary of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays will close our eyes because of our reverence for the great author and dramatist, and before we awake the United States has disappeared as one of the sovereign powers of the world. Great Scott, gentlemen, we live in perilous times!

To demonstrate how widespread is this reverence for Shakespeare, which increases the danger, a Southern lady told me that she had an invaluable factotum in her Southern home, a negro who was an expert in everything from a motor car to a

PROFESSORS FROM ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

garden. One day he asked her about her purchase of a fine picture which was hung on the walls. "Who is this picture a portrait of?" he asked. "Why," she answered, "the great Napoleon." "Oh yes," said the colored helper, "I know all about him: A horse, a horse, a kingdom for a horse."

Well, my friends, times are out of joint, the legacies of the Great War are grievous to be borne, but they are also full of hope. The great lesson of the war is a lesson of peace and prevention of future wars. We are thrilled with the announcement that the loan for the rehabilitation of Austria, which means so much to that stricken country and to the cause of national recovery, was oversubscribed five times in fifteen minutes after it was presented to the public.

We must all help in the establishment of a tribunal to which all nations and peoples can appeal with a certainty of justice and whose decisions will have the resistless power of public opinion. In the work of world progress the United States, developing according to our genius, and Great Britain and her self-governing colonies according to theirs, can, with the good will which has developed in our century of peace, be the greatest factors for civilization, liberty, prosperity and the happiness of mankind.

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society
to the British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Ged-
des, Plaza Hotel, New York, January 15, 1924.

Sir Auckland Geddes and Fellow Pilgrims:

Our meeting tonight has a rich element of home-coming. We welcome and greet Sir Auckland Geddes, not only because we are very glad he is with us again, but also because we can congratulate him and his country and ourselves that this public servant of proven efficiency has recovered his health. "Richard is himself again."

Sir Auckland has the rare qualifications for an Ambassador—he understands our language. You may say that every Englishman does that, and so does every Scotchman, Irishman and Welshman, but language is more than words. When it comes from the brain and the heart it conveys a meaning different from the cold formality of speech. Sir Auckland speaks our language in a way we not only understand, but in a way that makes us love him.

As an illustration of how language can be made effective and in a sense broadcasted, an old lady at Peekskill said that her minister could so pronounce the word Mesopotamia, that it made the earth seem a happier place to live in and opened the gates of Heaven so she could see the golden streets.

WELCOME TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

When Sir Auckland first arrived his appearance was a surprise. He had not come to this great post of Ambassador through diplomatic channels, but because in the war which had so recently closed he had filled at home a great and commanding place.

The first requirement of war is men to fill the armies. But those armies have to be fed and clothed, have to be provided with transportation; they especially have to be furnished with arms and ammunition and implements of warfare which have to be constantly renewed, as they are constantly destroyed. Sir Auckland held the place which was not spectacular but of more importance than that of the general who plans and executes the campaigns. The god of war in his merciless demand for men and still more men to replace those who have died or are invalided, does not discriminate. He would conscript all expert workmen in the munitions, clothing, provisions and other factories and close them up.

Sir Auckland prevented this tragedy. He organized war to sustain war. He made a card index of every able-bodied man. When the conscript officer demanded thousands, Sir Auckland, with his system and absolute authority, could so distribute the call without impairing production of the necessities for war that the men could be selected and sent to the front.

Soon after his arrival as British Ambassador, he became a guest of our Society. We were familiar

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

with eminent ambassadors from the ranks of diplomacy. A growing irritation existed at the time between our two countries on the subject of oil. The matter was very acute, and the trouble maker had his opportunity. The Bible says, "The poor we have always with us," and it might have added the trouble maker. He tries to break up the party to which he belongs, and he is always at work fostering international enmities. But this new diplomat, in a speech which was universally read, met questions like a business man in a business way. He seized the burrs so skillfully that they became harmless in his hands. When he had finished his explanation of the situation on the ownership of oil in the world, conditions were so clarified that thousands of editorials were killed and elaborately prepared orations and speeches of exaggeration and hatred were never delivered.

In the even course of diplomacy occasions arise, when a diplomat faces difficult crises which may prove his opportunity or his failure. There has been over one hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain. It was endangered over the Boundary Dispute which was settled by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, and again by a successful arbitration with a broad-minded Chief Justice of Great Britain as one of the arbitrators. There was in our time an acute situation on the Fisheries Question. Many and grave international

difficulties have come as a result of attempted settlements after the Great War. The trouble maker had his opportunity, and it was a great one, because of the supposed aggressive policy of Japan and the secret treaty between Japan and Great Britain. The consequence was a feverish increase of naval armament which was bankrupting all countries.

With rare and almost prophetic vision President Harding summoned the Washington Conference. One of the leaders for harmony, and one of the most helpful in that conference was Sir Auckland Geddes. The ablest speech made by any of the delegates from foreign countries and the shortest one, was when Arthur Balfour said to Harding's proposal, "Great Britain accepts." That conference will live in history as one of the greatest bulwarks of peace and civilization. The Versailles Treaty has not proved a success. The Genoa Conference was a failure. The Lausanne Conference accomplished little, except to rehabilitate Turkey as a European power. But the Washington Conference agreed upon a limitation of armaments, upon safety for China, upon the abrogation of the secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan, and upon making the Pacific ocean not only safe in name but for commerce upon its bosom and the shores which it washes. In this great achievement the British Ambassador had and improved his opportunity.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

The United States is the richest of the Allies and not only contributed its armies and its navy to the war, but it had also loaned vast sums to the Allies. Here was another opportunity for the trouble maker. We must collect our just debts, was the cry. But the question was if those sorely stricken nations could pay their debts or any part of them. The ruble had vanished, the mark was a memory, the kronen had lost its value and the franc was sorely depreciated. Then Great Britain by a tremendous effort, with an energy, a vigor, a concentration, the result of a thousand years of solvency and success, balanced her budget and restored the parity of the pound. The staggering economic and insolvent powers of the world took heart. Great Britain's debt to America was settled, and from that date hope revived everywhere. This again was another triumph of the administration of Sir Auckland Geddes.

It is one of the remarkable results of the most remarkable period in the history of the world that no great figure has arisen to dominate the situation. Napoleon will live forever. Bismarck is a monument of his time. Washington and Lincoln are growing in stature with the years. Four men of great genius and remarkable talents for government and construction met at Versailles to bring the world out of chaos, end war and save civilization. There never was concentrated in a governing body

WELCOME TO SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

so much universal fame, and never was there such unquestioned confidence as to the blessings of their action. The people of the world looked upon them almost as if they had been inspired from on high. The blessings which were anticipated to flow immediately failed to materialize, and Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando ceased to be popular idols.

The problems were too great for human ability. A thousand years of racial and national jealousies and hatreds could not be harmonized at a session of delegates. And now, six years after the armistice, we are still struggling to overcome and pacify these elemental forces of destruction. There is hope and that hope is in the English-speaking peoples of the world whose sovereignties belt the globe, who have the same traditions of organized law and liberty, whose faith and hope are founded on the teachings of Jesus Christ. This solvent, vigorous, youthful and potential aggregation of free and independent sovereignties, standing together for essential principles of liberty and civilization, are the bulwark and hope of the world.

While steadying and constructive policies are in progress, while the world above all grows more calm and sensible, it will be a great help for international intimacy among ourselves and for concurrent action with other nations, if we can have a continuing assistance of the good judgment, sound advice and unequalled experience of Ambassador Geddes.

Speech at the Luncheon given to Mr. Depew
by the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Biltmore, New
York, November 19, 1924.

Fellow Pilgrims:

Many encouraging and significant things have happened to me in the course of my long life, but none of them has given me greater pleasure and encouragement than this cordial greeting by my fellow pilgrims. Your welcome receives a wonderful addition by its being presented through my lifelong friend, Elihu Root. He and I have journeyed together in perfect harmony and close friendship for over half a century. It has been a source of infinite gratification to me to witness his triumphs at the bar until he became its leader, and also his remarkable achievements in public life.

When President Harrison appointed me Secretary of State in his Cabinet, he sent his Secretary of War, Mr. Elkins, to insure my acceptance. Mr. Elkins led me to the office of the Secretary of State and there pointed at portraits of the long list of the eminent statesmen who had held that office. He said, "You have the opportunity to have your name and portrait added to that famous group. Its membership is far more distinguished than that of the list of the Presidents of the United States." Mr. Elkin's estimate was correct. Of all that long line

THE PILGRIMS' LUNCHEON TO MR. DEPEW

of our Ministers of Foreign Affairs, none has won greater reputation or rendered more patriotic service than our friend, Mr. Root. In the cordial relations which he brought about between the republics of South America and the United States, and in the difficulties and dangerous controversies between the United States and Great Britain, which he settled, and in his triumph in removing all possible causes of dangerous irritation between the United States and Great Britain, he stands among the very first of our great Secretaries of State.

There are many anniversaries which mark our journey through life. At twenty-one years of age we are welcomed to manhood and citizenship, at sixty and seventy we do not care to have the dates well known, because we wish to be considered younger. At eighty we begin to brag about our age, and when we enter upon the last lap of the century at ninety, then the world rejoices and help us along. And yet, even at ninety pride can survive.

The interviews at the recent election reported my having voted and stumped the country for General John C. Fremont, the first candidate of the Republican party, and my having voted eighteen times for Presidents. I am in daily receipt of letters from all over the country, the writer in each case saying, "I cast my first vote for Fremont too." One of them wrote, "You need not hump yourself, there are others." However, how many they are, only one not

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

only voted for Buchanan in 1856, but he goes back four years to 1852, when he voted for Franklin Pierce. "I had never heard of him," he wrote, "and did not know anything about him, but I was regular then and for the straight ticket, and I have been so ever since."

Anniversaries have their charm and at the same time lead to strange results. The various marriage anniversaries, with their significance in silver, gold and diamonds, are great milestones in the family life. A lady said to me the other day, "When we reached our golden jubilee our lives had been so happy that we wished to celebrate it with all honors and all pleasure with our children, grandchildren and our friends. I am a rigid prohibitionist and believe in enforcing the law, but for that anniversary I bootlegged for champagne."

I was in London twenty-two years ago, when the English Pilgrims Society was organized. Its principal promoter was George Wyndham, one of the most brilliant and promising of the young statesmen of that time. One of the orators at the dinner was an enthusiastic Canadian who asserted that in every way Canada was far superior to the United States. In my response I admitted that Canada had more square miles but it was mostly ice. My Canadian friend got mad. The next season, twenty-one years ago, our Society sprang into vigorous life. It did not go through the processes of youth and maturity, but

THE PILGRIMS' LUNCHEON TO MR. DEPEW

like the goddess Minerva sprang fully equipped for its great mission from the start. It was fortunate in having as its constructive genius that most princely of preachers, most cultivated and charming of gentlemen, most able of diplomats and leader of the movement for more cordial relations among the English-speaking peoples, the late Bishop Henry C. Potter. He was succeeded by the best equipped man for the position in the whole United States, our wonderful and world-famed Joseph H. Choate. It is among the proudest satisfactions of my life that I should for seven years have been the successor to these great gentlemen. The physiologists say that at the end of seven years we have entirely changed, but it is not so with you and me. We are the same friends, only a little more so than we were seven years ago.

These eventful twenty-one years of our Society's life have been distinguished by an increasing friendship and understanding among the English-speaking peoples of the world beyond anything hoped for at the beginning, and the continuing contributors to this happy result are the Pilgrims Societies of America and England.

It was at one of the English dinners to Secretary Hughes and the American lawyers visiting London, where the Dawes plan for the settlement of the war problems received an impetus which led to its acceptance by both Germany and France, and

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

gave promise to turn chaos into beneficent and friendly coöperation between the warring elements on the European continent.

The first great issue of the hour for the civilization, restoration and freedom of the world is peace.

The greatest force for the maintenance of peace is coöperation of the English-speaking peoples of the world. Human nature has not changed and probably never will. The horrors of war are forgotten, and then more wars break out. The wars of chivalry are gone. We no longer will be thrilled by the achievements of Washington and his generals, or of Napoleon and his marshals.

During the Great War science progressed as never before in the discovery of means for destruction of life and property. The impetus given has kept the laboratories at work ever since, and in the next war armies will be annihilated who never saw an enemy, and cities destroyed from the air. To prevent war and to outlaw it, the English-speaking peoples must first be prepared to prevent the outlaw from making the attack and to bring him within the bounds of civilization and reason; they must have that unity of purpose and ideas in which each sovereignty develops according to its genius, but, nevertheless, all act in unison for the peace of the world, to preserve civilization and promote trade.

Most people isolate those who are in the nineties and regard them as peculiarly endowed from their

THE PILGRIMS' LUNCHEON TO MR. DEPEW

experience and longevity to help others. I am appealed to very frequently for many things, but especially for rules for health and long life.

One day I was stopped in the street by a lady who said, "I am taking care of my father who is nearly as old as you are, but not in such good shape. May I bring him around to see you for an afternoon or evening? He is feeble-minded but would enjoy talking to you."

Mark Twain, our greatest humorist, like all humorists, had periods of great depression. In his autobiography he says that myriads of human beings lose during their lives all ambition, all pride, all vanity and even all hope. My ninety years lead me to an opposite conclusion. The results of close contact with people in all walks of life and intimate confidences with many, preaching because believing in hopefulness, optimism and brotherhood in this world and salvation in the next, have taught me that the great mass of people are happy because they have ambition, hopefulness, sympathy and desire to serve.

I received a letter from a tough old Puritan who is in the late eighties saying, "An aged lady, a relative of mine, for the first time in her life went from Maine to visit Boston. When she arrived there she found they had daylight saving time and could not understand it. She said to her friends, "In Maine we have God's time, in Boston you have the devil's

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

time, and in trying to reconcile the two, I have a hell of a time." That octogenarian, and the large class which he represents, has certainly retained the flavor of life.

My friends, let us believe that all ills can be overcome, all dangers can be passed and all differences can be healed; let us follow the apostolic injunction of loving one another so that each one adds to the enjoyment, happiness and longevity of the other.

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society in Honor of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, upon His receiving the Woodrow Wilson Peace Prize, Hotel Plaza, New York, January 2, 1925.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood and Fellow Pilgrims:

In the course of our twenty-one years of activities, we have had the privilege of entertaining distinguished representatives from almost every branch of public service in Great Britain and its colonies—admirals, generals, diplomats and men of letters. This period, which is the span of young manhood, has been peculiarly rich in events and people who have contributed to the object for which the Pilgrims Societies of the United States and Great Britain were organized.

The English-speaking peoples of the world understand each other better and have become centuries nearer each other in these two decades. Our meetings were peculiarly thrilling when we met to welcome the missions which came to us during the Great War, and afterwards to the almost only one successful conference, the one which met in Washington to decide the questions of the Pacific and disarmament. But tonight is the only time when we meet to celebrate simply peace.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

There have been periods in the history of our country when such an event seemed impossible. But some patriotic and farseeing citizens and friends of President Wilson created a Foundation which should be applied to the promotion of the ideas for which he labored and stood. These friends of President Wilson threw the competition open in order to give the whole world an opportunity to attain the honor which would go to the man who had done most for the promotion of the peace of the world. The contestants were many and distinguished, but with singular unanimity the judges selected our guest tonight, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood.

Viscount Cecil is an eminent member of a family which has occupied prominent places in the government of Great Britain for nearly a thousand years. I doubt if there ever was a time during this long period, when a member of the Cecil family has not been governing Great Britain as Prime Minister, or active and influential in its Parliament.

I remember one of my visits to England. Our Minister took me to call upon Lord Salisbury, our guest's father, who was then Prime Minister of England. When I was introduced to him in the Foreign Office, I had the same sensation which, I think, all Americans feel when visiting Great Britain, and when they come into immediate con-

TRIBUTE TO VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD

tact with the events which preceded our colonial settlement and history. We were then all sharers in the great days and in the mighty events which laid the foundations for both English and American liberty. I saw before me Lord Burghley, the great Minister of Queen Elizabeth, and the ancestor of the Cecils. There arose, naturally, a vision of the events, the statesmen, admirals, generals and men of genius whose immortal work is our common heritage, and who adorned the reign of the great Queen Elizabeth. Shakespeare, Bacon and subsequently Milton have illumined the centuries and are still the lighthouses of our literature.

We cannot help recalling the serious effort for peace among the English-speaking peoples which followed the war of 1812. The commissioners of the two countries met at Ghent, because in their judgment it was the only neutral place in Europe. This was demonstrated by the Burgomaster of the town when he gave a dinner to the American delegates and said in his toast that he wished them every possible success over the British. At the conclusion of the two Commissions' labors, the American commissioners gave a dinner to the British commissioners. The toast of John Quincy Adams was that this successful peace-treaty, which had just been concluded, might be forever unbroken. Its beauty, its mystery and its longev-

ity seem to be due to the fact that it neither mentioned nor settled any of the controversies which had been fought for in the war.

Since then there have been many movements from both sides to bring these great branches of the English-speaking peoples together. The main contributor for many years was Washington Irving, who secured against the British reviewers from Walter Scott the acknowledgment that the British people would read an American book. Probably the most successful contributor was the poet Longfellow. He brought to the world the Indian romances which attracted the attention of not only English scholars and educators, but fascinated the imagination of a generation of English children. Then followed James Fenimore Cooper with his "Leather Stocking Tales." One result was that a rising generation of England thought that the Americans were Indians. One American told me of stopping at a country house on the sea, and that one of the old ladies said to him, "How we are blessed by the stormy ocean, except for that we might be massacred by those American savages."

The contributions to the unity of the English-speaking race by Dickens and Thackeray cannot be estimated. How much English lecturers, who have come here in multitudes and given us their messages, have aided in the great movement is a

subject of dispute. One of the most valued and valuable was Matthew Arnold. He brought me his itinerary which had been furnished by his American manager. Mr. Arnold said to me, "I am an Oxford professor, and I have instructed the director of my lectures to put me only in university towns." "Well, Mr. Arnold," I said, "he seems to have misunderstood you. In the first place where you lecture, the only university is an insane asylum, and the only college in the next place is an inebriate home; but outside the subject on which they have gone wrong, they are remarkably intelligent people."

But, my friends, everything prior to 1917, when the United States entered the Great War, is ancient history. We entered then upon a new era. It was the comradeship of youth, when both countries were fighting under the entwined flags of their nationalities, and for the same ideals and ready to make the supreme sacrifice together for law, order, civilization and liberty.

When the war was over, and the great Council met at Versailles, the future of the world was dependent upon its decisions. A distinguished ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain said to me, "Now that you have come in with all your strength, the victory for the Allies is assured. The councils after great wars in the past have left in their conclusions the seeds for future wars,

and I fear the same results when the Allies get together around the council table." The prediction came true. History repeated itself because the Council could not escape in its deliberations the century old animosities and craving for territory and power. One brilliant and outstanding exception, who wanted neither territory nor possessions, who wanted only justice and peace and who hoped to realize his ideals, was Woodrow Wilson. He represented not only his own convictions but the public opinion of the United States. If, to assist Mr. Wilson, our guest tonight had also been a controlling participant, the result might have been different for the world.

Viscount Cecil, as a member of the War Cabinet of Lloyd George, held the most difficult position in the most difficult period of his country's history. He was Minister of Blockade. The War and the Navy Ministers and other statesmen who represented divisions and subdivisions of the war machinery of the government, and were raising and equipping armies and furnishing navies to fight the battles, had their duties defined. But his duties were not defined; they were mainly to watch the United States. It was a most delicate and difficult mission. It required tact, sense and diplomacy to limit as far as possible the contraband of war the United States could furnish neutral nations.

TRIBUTE TO VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD

The United States was neutral and the great merchant of the war. Without causing any irritation or anger, Viscount Cecil succeeded in diminishing the sales without offending the salesman. While almost all other nations were fighting or involved in fighting, the United States furnished arms, munitions, provisions and everything needed by the combatants. Many millions now due us represent in some measure the vastness of our traffic with the Allies.

And here, permit me to say that one of the most valuable contributions to peace and goodwill among the English-speaking peoples, is the wonderful way Great Britain has met and adjusted her debt. And I will also say how deeply I regret the recent expressions of ill-will towards France on account of her attitude in regard to her war debt. I am sure the position of France is wholly misunderstood. France is the soul of honor and will demonstrate it. We have too many things of sentiment and interest in common with France, running from Lafayette to Jusserand, to permit any ill-feeling between our countries.

But the enemies of the Allies were equally anxious for their supplies, and to prevent Germany and Austria from getting them, the British Navy maintained a rigid blockade. Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Spain were neutral countries and quite alert in securing contraband

from the United States and profiteering by selling it to Germany and Austria. It was the duty of Viscount Cecil as Minister of Blockade, to minimize that traffic without offending the United States, because the Allies expected, sooner or later, the United States to come in as a decisive factor in the war. When the United States came into the war, we had neither enmity nor irritation about the activity of the Minister of Blockade. His was a signal triumph in active war and a genius for peace. Since the war, almost every successful movement which has checked or prevented chaos and helped the distressed nations on the pathway to peace, has been conceived or carried through by Viscount Cecil.

There is a message in this morning's papers from one of the best known American observers in Europe. He says that the people on the Continent are full of hatred and desire for revenge, and regardless of consequences would welcome the breaking out of war, and the only restraining influence from what would mean chaos is the solid strength and sane activity of the United States and Great Britain, who are closely acting together for peace.

Peace is the one hope of the world. A recurrence of war threatens civilization. Nations cannot be reconstructed except under favorable economic conditions. These can be had only with

TRIBUTE TO VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD

peace. Production can only be stimulated by peace. Recuperation can only come through peace. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation has decided to give its prize for the most successful worker for peace to that distinguished statesman, Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who is our guest to-night.

Speech at the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society to Sir Robert Horne, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, October 23, 1925.

Sir Robert Horne, Sir Esme Howard, Secretary Hughes, Senator Root, and Fellow Pilgrims:

We meet here under unusually favorable auspices for the mission and purpose of the Pilgrims Societies, both of America and Great Britain. I don't know that we have had a meeting in many years, which meant so much as our gathering here tonight. We have the British Ambassador, who has done so much during his term to promote friendly relations between our two countries. We have our distinguished guest of the evening. We have Senator Root, who, as Secretary of State, removed with brilliant diplomacy every controversy and irritating question which existed up to that time between our countries. We have Secretary Hughes, who led us with remarkable skill out of chaos of war, out of the dangers of Bolshevism toward representative government and orderly liberty. And then we have our twenty-two years of wonderful achievements in promoting friendly relations among the English-speaking peoples.

During a wonderful evening with that great statesman, Mr. Gladstone, he said to me, "If I had to select the half century which has accomplished the

THE PILGRIMS' DINNER TO SIR ROBERT HORNE

most and the best I should choose the fifty years in which I have lived and been an active participant, because that half century represents emancipation." He had in view the Proclamation of Emancipation by Mr. Lincoln, which liberated millions of slaves, and the freeing of the Russian serfs by Czar Alexander II. But our fifty years surpass that half century in marvellous achievements which have changed the governments of the world, and almost miraculously created economic and industrial blessings. If Mr. Gladstone's half century can be called a half century of emancipation, then, if I may be permitted to say so, by the ghost of William Jennings Bryan, our half century has been preëminently a period of evolution and revolution.

Evolution has given us radium, radio, wireless, aeroplanes, automobiles and perfected the telephone; it has given us marvellous resources in medicine and surgery. A revolution has changed the conditions of this old world of ours beyond the imagination of half a century ago.

The historic dynasties which for centuries controlled the world, the Romanoff, the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern, have disappeared. A democratic spirit has taken their places and is wielding its power. That democratic spirit is largely the creation of the kind of liberty which is enjoyed by the English-speaking peoples of the world. (Applause.)

After every great war the victors have gathered

ON THE* THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

in conferences to settle the terms of peace. Their assemblages have always been brilliant: imperialists, royalists and aristocrats in dazzling ceremonies. On all these occasions the decisions have had in them the seeds for future wars. The settlements have always been subject to the ambition, desires and jealousies of the great dynastic families.

The Holy Alliance was formed for the purpose of destroying representative government and to uphold the divine right of kings. Happily, the democratic spirit had taken Great Britain from autocracy, and through the Monroe Doctrine the United States and Great Britain defeated the Holy Alliance and saved the republics of the Western World.

The great conferences which followed the Napoleonic wars had in their so called settlements the seeds for future wars, because they endeavored to stifle the rising democratic spirit of the world. The Versailles Conference yielded to the time-honored vice of national avarice for territory and power. The one great force for justice and peace was the United States, as represented by President Wilson. The Lausanne Conference was a failure. The spectacular gathering at Genoa ended in disaster.

With little hope of success, five great powers met at Locarno in Switzerland, in order to discuss and bring about, if possible, a settlement of the most dangerous and war-provoking issues. The feeling of failure was so great that Austen Chamberlain,

THE PILGRIMS' DINNER TO SIR ROBERT HORNE

before leaving England, said to the English people, "Don't expect anything, for I do not believe anything can be done."

This conference, instead of being housed in the great palace of Versailles, or amid the splendors of other capitals, chose this rural retreat. Upon its success or failure depended largely the peace and preservation of civilization. No royal or spectacular trappings were to be seen, only the simple surroundings of a board of directors in business clothes and bowler hats.

The overshadowing menace in the conference was "The Watch on the Rhine." Could this age-old menace to peace and security be removed? One day, Briand, representing France, and Luther, representing Germany, sat down in an informal way at a table in the garden of a village restaurant. Drinks and cigars were ordered, and the discussion went on for hours. At the end all irritating questions between France and Germany were settled. Then and there a security pledge had been arranged, and an agreement reached, under which France can lift the backbreaking burden of her great army. A program had been agreed upon, under which Great Britain and Italy assented to protect from further aggression the territory and sovereignty of France, in which Germany joined.

Briand, happier than ever before in his life, said

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

to Luther, "Well, the drinks are on me." That was a touch of Anglo-Saxon, of English and American philosophy and common sense. The Associated Press flashed the remark and the incident all over the world. Millions of lesser or greater settlements have been made around a council table among business men in the United States and Great Britain, and at the conclusion the victor has always said, "The drinks are on me." I think that Briand was inspired for this immortal speech by what he learned while visiting the United States. This new agreement lifts the world out of chaos and stabilizes civilization.

You know that Cæsar, two thousand years ago, said, "I came, I saw, I conquered," and that has come down for two thousand years. I wonder if Briand's speech will go down for two thousand years, and if it does, I wonder if prohibition will have proceeded so far at that time that the people won't know what his speech means. (Laughter.)

The Hoosier statesman and philosopher, Vice-President Marshall, gives in his autobiography a delightful account of the reception by the United States Senate of the delegations from different nations, which came here after the United States had entered the World War. The first was the French, headed by Marshal Joffre, and the famous orator Viviani. Viviani was remarkably eloquent, but neither the Vice-President nor the senators understood a word. But the Vice-President, leading, nod-

THE PILGRIMS' DINNER TO SIR ROBERT HORNE

ded assent or gave cordial applause whenever Viviani was unusually emphatic. Marshall says that it was unnecessary to understand the French orator, because of what France did for us in saving our independence, and that made the reception one from the heart. (Applause.)

The next delegation came from Great Britain, headed by Arthur Balfour. Marshall says that the feeling in the Senate towards them and what they represented, was wholly intellectual, no heart in it. After them came the delegates to the Disarmament Conference, called by President Harding. When the question was put to that conference about the scrapping of certain parts of the navies, and the scheme for peace on the Pacific, Mr. Balfour rose and said, "Great Britain accepts." That settled it. The confirmation was unanimous. It ended the Japanese danger, made peace permanent. But more than that, the welcome from the United States to Great Britain had progressed from being intellectual to the throbbing of the heart.

When, later, the other delegation came and settled the debt of Great Britain to the United States, and in the most openhanded, frank and generous way met every obligation, then a contribution was made to international credit and commercial stability. The lifting of the world upon a plane where commerce and civilization could work together won our hearts and unified us as never before.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Another element, also of unity, has been the successful rehabilitation of Hungary and Austria. Hungary's case is especially significant. The agent, selected by the League of Nations to represent it, was a young man from Boston with the familiar name of Jeremiah Smith. He arrived quietly at Budapest, and in a few months placed Hungary in a position where from bankruptcy she balanced her budget. The restoration of her credit thrilled and encouraged the whole continent of Europe. He used one one-third of the millions entrusted to him for Hungary's restoration.

Jeremiah Smith had nothing behind him except the League of Nations and the full accord of the English-speaking peoples of the world. His experiment was unique, and he had none of the splendors of Versailles or Berlin. He had only British and American common sense and the Coolidge accent which came over from Plymouth with the *Mayflower* and took root in New England, where it still survives. That accent has had much to do with the progress, with the development, with the statesmanship and the glory of the United States. That accent has just said that chaos can be avoided, law can be enforced, civilization can be brought about with toleration and religion—both excellent sentiments, but made infinitely more powerful because they have been uttered by the President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE PILGRIMS' DINNER TO SIR ROBERT HORNE

After every one of the great historic conferences, the actors have remained in power for life. But the mortality among the statesmen from Versailles is extraordinary. President Wilson is dead, but before his death he had lost the power which made him, for a time, the most powerful man in the world. Clemenceau is in absolute retirement on his Brittany farm. Orlando has no more voice in the affairs of Italy. Lloyd George has lost his power and most of his followers in the House of Commons, although he may come again to the front.

But there was one statesman who was a power as an adviser, gifted with sagacity and ability when he aided in and the successfully carrying through the debt settlement with the United States. He is an English statesman whose ability and fidelity all parties understand. He can talk the language of labor. If great troubles arise between capital and the miners, he is the one who has the confidence of all and may save the situation. He is our guest tonight, Sir Robert Horne, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Applause.)

**Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of
the Pilgrims Society, Waldorf-Astoria, New
York, January 22, 1919.**

My Friends:

It is usual at the annual meeting of any corporation or association for the officers to render account of the condition of the organization and their views as to the future. But the duties of this anniversary are far different. The conditions under which we have lived for nearly five years, since 1914, have had an extraordinary influence in accelerating the purposes which led to our formation.

The Pilgrims Society was organized in London, and the next year a sister society was formed in New York, the sole object of both being to promote friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain. Friendship between nations as between individuals is largely due to acquaintance and familiarity. It is a well known result that if two people travel together, in the intimacy of the journey, they arrive at the end either as friends or enemies. The United States and Great Britain have lived in amity for over a century, and yet have had frequent and irritating disputes with each other. But the two peoples, though having so much in common in language and literature, in ancestry and traditions, have not known each other. A very small

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

fraction of our hundred million of people have visited Great Britain and stayed long enough to feel at home. A still smaller section of the inhabitants of the British Isles, except those who come as emigrants, have visited our shores. Our apprehension and knowledge of our cousins have been largely the John Bull and Lord Dundreary of the stage, while to the British Uncle Sam as a Kentucky colonel or a cowboy before the footlights, has been more familiar.

I was privileged to be present at the first dinner of the Pilgrims Society in London. It received little notice in the press, and the same is true of the first meeting and the dinner of the Pilgrims Society of New York. As the years passed, the entertainment of distinguished Americans on the one side and eminent Englishmen on the other became more frequent, the work of the two societies grew in importance.

I was in London at the time of the visit of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston. They were entertained by a similar organization of like age in London. Before they could land, however, a serious obstacle had to be removed. It was the law which prohibited any armed organization from a foreign country landing in Great Britain. No more harmless crowd ever existed, notwithstanding their muskets and uniforms, than the Ancient and Honorable Artillery. They met in their lives and

activities the full requirements of the maxim invincible in peace and invisible in war. Nevertheless, that law had to be suspended before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, with the full panoply and glory of their uniforms, plumes and guns, could march through the streets of London. I was present at their banquet when the Prince of Wales delivered a charming welcome speech, and they were fully equal to every requirement of the occasion.

Within the past year more than a million of American soldiers, fully armed and equipped, ready for battle and intent on winning by fighting the objects of their visit, have marched through the streets of the cities and the country highways of England. They have been welcomed with an enthusiasm of unparalleled fervor and intensity. No statutes had to be repealed or suspended for them. They came as allies in a great cause. Within the year we have seen the King and the Queen, the Parliament and the Courts joining in a *Te Deum* at St. Paul's cathedral because of our entrance into the war, and singing in unison with their national anthem the "Star Spangled Banner." The sporting spirit which is common with both peoples was deeply stirred when, at the great game of the American soldiers near London, the King threw the ball.

George III. was the last of the autocratic kings of Great Britain. The loss of the American colonies

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

affected his mind. He could not endure liberalism in politics, or anything except the Established Church in religion. There is no record of him ever having recognized a statesman of democratic tendencies or a nonconformist minister. And yet, passing his statue and heading a great procession and acclaimed by an unprecedented crowd, side by side in the same carriage rode his descendant, King George, changed from autocracy to be the head of as democratic a government as there is in this world, and the President of the revolted colonies, now the greatest of free nations, and himself a descendant of a nonconformist minister from Carlisle, who had not changed in any respect from his clerical ancestor.

There has been, especially since 1857, a camaraderie between the American and the British navies. The English fleet was hard pressed in the Chinese war, sixty odd years ago. It was Commodore Tattnall who came to their rescue. He was court-martialled for what he did, and his answer was at once his vindication and acquittal. Said the gallant Commodore, "I did it because blood is thicker than water." Soon after the battle of Manila Bay, I met Captain Chichester of the British navy, one of the finest specimens of a naval commander that ever lived. I asked him about his action when the German commander tried to interfere with Dewey. "Well," he said, "when the German put his

ship between myself and Dewey, I told the German that I was going to see fair play, and if he wanted to fight he had to fight me." The same spirit, grown to a wonderful camaraderie, saw its fulfilment in the activities of the British and American fleets, and in the great advance from Chateau Thierry to the Rhine.

There was a crisis in the battle for civilization. The British, the French and the Italians, who fought so gloriously for four years, stood with their backs to the wall against an enemy superior in number and equipment. Just in the nick of time the American army arrived, and with less training than ever before known among old soldiers was ready for battle. That fight continued for six weeks, every day an advance and every day a victory—and the enemy sued for peace. Fighting side by side were the Americans, the British, the Anzacs, the South Africans from the other side of the world, and our neighbors from Canada. They all had the same language, the same traditions, the same liberties and knew what they were fighting for. In this commingling of sacrifices and triumphs was established the strongest tie—the tie of blood brotherhood.

The most wonderful Congress which ever assembled is now meeting in Paris. Its problems involve the whole world and are most difficult. Happily, no troubles and very few differences exist between

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy. Already the small nations who are sparring for national recognition, are making war on each other.

Liberty is the most beneficent principle, but cannot be rightly practical until it becomes a habit. Autocracy, both for the autocrat and the subject, so poisons the blood and the brain that it requires time to so eradicate its effects that liberty can be understood and enjoyed. People must be taught to think right. We have been thinking right ever since Magna Charta, and with a larger vision through the years until the fruition of the Declaration of Independence. The Russian Bolsheviks destroyed the press, shot the educated and the clean and murdered without mercy those who did not agree with them. They call it liberty. They have not learned how to think straight. Liebknecht and his followers in Germany tried by rioting and killing to prevent the people from voting, and after voting tried to destroy the ballot boxes. They call this liberty, but they have not learned how to think straight. In Great Britain the other day, nine millions of voters under equal suffrage, equal laws and equal opportunity returned Lloyd George to power, and the minority accepted the verdict. They had learned, with generations of liberty and law, to think straight. In our presidential election fifteen millions of Americans voted, and the majority were

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

for the President and a Congress in harmony with him. The minority loyally accepted the verdict and supported the Administration. After two years, in the recent election, the same millions voted again for a Congress and a majority elected one of the opposite party, and in direct denial of the request of the President. The defeated minority loyally accepted the verdict.

Under the practice of liberty and law, of government by the consent of the governed, the American people abhor revolutionary methods and govern themselves because they think straight. It is this straight thinking and right thinking of the English speaking peoples of the world which is the best security for its future peace and harmony.

The dramatic incidents of history are most emphatic. Forty-eight years ago, on the eighteenth of January, William I was crowned Emperor of Germany at Versailles. Instantly Bismarck began, and the young Kaiser, who succeeded to the throne, carried out the vast preparations, which resulted in the present war, for the extermination of liberty and to reinstate the rule of autocracy in the world. Alsace and Lorraine were the pledges exacted from France. Forty-eight years afterwards, on the same eighteenth day of January, the Peace Congress met at Paris. Autocracy is overthrown, liberty and civilization are triumphant. Alsace and Lorraine are returned to France, and the Peace Congress decides

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

what terms shall be imposed upon the defeated empires and kingdoms of autocracy. The mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceedingly fine.

Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of
the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Plaza, New York,
January 28, 1920.

Fellow Pilgrims:

This is the annual meeting of our society. In all organizations that date is looked forward to either with hope or dread. Then the organization, whether it is financial or industrial, religious or philanthropic, patriotic or social, must give an account of its administration. The books are open. If it is a motor or oil company, it may be the distribution of a melon; if it is a public utilities or a traction company, it will probably be a tale of woe and disaster. We of the Pilgrims Society are happy with our year. We have seized upon every opportunity presented to us to advance the objects to which we are pledged. The basic principle of our constitution is the union of the English-speaking peoples. We believe that to the degree and the extent the English-speaking peoples of the world can work together harmoniously, there will be peace and liberty everywhere.

Among our gatherings, there have been two which were notable. The first was the reception and dinner to the British Ambassador, Lord Reading, on his departure, which took place at one of the most interesting periods in history. The other was the farewell dinner to the Prince of Wales.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

The representatives of the victors were in session at Paris to fix the terms of peace, with their rewards and penalties. Its deliberations were shrouded in impenetrable mystery, and an expectant press and public believed that Lord Reading, one of the most accomplished of diplomats and greatest of lawyers who enjoyed the full confidence of both his own government and ours, knew and would tell. He gave us a delightful hour of international eloquence and brotherly sentiment. He came near several times breaking the silence of diplomacy and revealing its secrets, but he demonstrated the complete mastery of his profession. His was a most delicate and difficult position. The Grand Council at Versailles was not yet ready to announce the results of its deliberations. Lord Reading succeeded in convincing us all that the conclusions of the Council would be wise and satisfactory, without telling us what those conclusions were.

One of the most notable events, sixty years ago, was the visit to this country of the then Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII. It was a critical period in the relations between the two countries, and the Queen planned the visit to promote good will. Our City of New York, at that time, did not extend beyond Twenty-third Street, and, while every effort was made to give consideration and distinction to the visit, the entertainments which were devised could not compare with those with which

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

we welcomed his grandson, sixty years afterwards. There was a difference not only in the maturity of the United States and our City, but also in the two princes. The grandfather, whom I remember very well, was a slight, fair-haired lad between eighteen and nineteen years of age, while his grandson, at twenty-five, had the charm of youth and the development of a large and unusual experience in civil life and war.

The effect of his visit and the magnetism of his presence aroused unprecedented loyalty to the Empire throughout Canada. The tact and grace with which he met difficult positions, while on his visit to the United States, were remarkable. Whether the occasion was festive or grave he always did just the right thing. His large experience in public affairs at home and his adventures upon the battle-fields, where he was exposed to all the dangers of the front, had made him a serious man without in any way detracting from the charm and attractiveness of youth.

After many and notable entertainments, we had the honor of giving the Prince his farewell dinner on the eve of his departure. It was an historical event which engaged the attention of the public on both sides of the ocean. In the midst of all controversies and all the effort of different factions to make trouble, the entertainment of the Prince by our Society, and his reception by the public demon-

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

strated the height, the depth and strength of the good will which exists among English-speaking peoples. Years from now, when the Prince will become Edward VIII. and King of the globe-encircling Empire, there will be many an old gentleman who will begin all his stories by saying, "That reminds me of the night when I met the Prince of Wales at the dinner at Plaza hotel."

I was wondering, while the Prince was speaking, whether his speech had been prepared for him by authority, always fearful of imprudent remarks, or was original. A happy incident settled the question. I had told of his grandfather's escape from his guardians at West Point, and having with the cadets of his age a night off. The Prince in the course of his speech gave a charming exhibition, both of the boy and the practical speaker, by saying, "I was glad to hear that my grandfather had a night off. No one here or anywhere has given me a night off."

I remember a famous lecture by Wendell Phillips on the "Lost Arts." Phillips was one of the most learned, cultured and eloquent men of his time. In his lecture he explored all that was then revealed in the libraries, or by excavations among ancient civilizations and demonstrated that there is nothing new under the sun. He showed that all the inventions and discoveries which are the boast of our age had their suggestion or working model in antiquity, We say that our Society is eighteen years old, that

we trace it back to the dinner in London where George Wyndham presided, but, my friends, our two societies are a hundred years old. Their founders were George Canning, England's famous Prime Minister in 1820, and Thomas Jefferson, who had been twice President of the United States, and was the mentor and advisor of the then President James Monroe. Great Britain had progressed from the autocracy of George III. to parliamentary government and democracy in 1820. But the governments of the Continent had reverted to absolutism and autocracy. Russia, Austria and Prussia formed the Holy Alliance, and its declaration of principles was "We hold sovereignty of the people and representative government to be inimical to Divine Right and autocracy, and we agree to destroy them everywhere." The result was that with their armies they crushed liberalism which had spread under Napoleon, and restored all tyrants in the different countries in Europe to their thrones.

The South American colonies of Spain and Mexico had revolted and established independent republics. The Holy Alliance proposed to destroy them. The United States had not the strength at that time to meet this aggression. Canning saw that if the Holy Alliance succeeded, the next attack would be on liberalism and liberty in Great Britain. So in our time, Asquith, Lloyd George and other leaders in Great Britain saw that the success of militarism

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

and autocracy under the Alliance of Germany, Austria and Turkey, if successful, would attack liberty in Great Britain, and we in the United States, happily, saw at the critical moment that our liberty was also in peril.

In 1820 George Canning sent a proposition, which we now call the Monroe Doctrine, to President Monroe for an alliance between the United States and Great Britain, or at least an agreement and understanding that the two governments would act together with their armies and navies to resist the aggression of the Holy Alliance, or of any European power upon the North or South American continents. When Monroe sent the correspondence to Jefferson, he replied, "The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us, and never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs; America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe." By that agree-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

ment under the advice of Thomas Jefferson and entered into by President Monroe, the old hostility growing out of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, received a fatal blow. The preservation of the South American republics and their sovereignty and the independence of Mexico fell under the joint protection and care of the United States and Great Britain.

Thus one hundred years ago, the United States under James Monroe as President, with the advice of Thomas Jefferson, and Great Britain under the authority of George Canning as Prime Minister, entered into a solemn agreement and obligation to protect the sovereignty and liberties against foreign aggression on the republics of the North and South American continents and Central America. The effect of this understanding and mutual pledge has been felt in all the relations of English-speaking peoples living under different sovereignties through the whole of this century. During this period it has frequently been demonstrated that the better we know each other, the more cordial our relations. Nothing has done so much for mutual good will than our fighting together, sacrificing together and rejoicing in a common victory in this Great War.

The other day, in an investigation before the Senate Naval Committee, Admiral Sims was a witness, and he testified that on leaving the United States to take command of the naval units in Euro-

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

pean waters, he was cautioned by a high official "not to let the British pull the wool over his eyes, and that he would as soon fight the British as the Germans." That testimony shocked the whole world. If there was such a high official entertaining such sentiments at the time of our entrance into the war, neither he nor any other representative of our government entertains them today.

President Wilson in one of his historical works said that there were people in the United States who had never got beyond the Declaration of Independence, in other words, they lived and had their being in conditions as they existed on the Fourth of July, 1776. So there are citizens in the South who are still fighting the battle of Cowpens, and in the North who are battling on Bunker Hill, and there are other citizens who are still engaged in the battle of New Orleans and voting every fourth year for General Jackson. The camaraderie among the officers and men of our fleet and of the British navy, who were jointly convoying our soldiers across the ocean to France, jointly battling the submarine peril and jointly fighting in the Atlantic and the North Sea, is still not a tradition but a living sentiment. The same can be said of the hundreds of thousands of our boys who were made to feel at home in England, and the million or more who, in France, fought side by side with

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the soldiers from Great Britain, from Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand and South Africa.

The League of Nations may be crushed, so far as the United States is concerned, between the upper and the lower millstones of the President and the Senate, but the peace of the world and its liberties will always remain in the keeping and under the protection of the English-speaking peoples.

Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of
the Pilgrims Society, Hotel Ritz-Carlton, New
York, January 26, 1921.

Fellow Members of the Pilgrims Society:

As your presiding officer, I extend to you cordial greetings and good wishes for your present and future which are happily in harmony with the season.

The purpose of this organization is to promote, increase and maintain friendly relations among English-speaking peoples of the world. In the enlargement and enforcement of that idea, 1920 has made large contributions. Nothing knits people together and creates brotherhood like fighting side by side and sharing the perils of battle. This is particularly true when diverse nationalities are risking everything together for the same cause and the same principles. So, after the victory which made liberty safe, the returning soldiers brought back with them a feeling of camaraderie which they have carried to all parts of our country and to all parts of the globe which are dominated by English-speaking peoples.

One of the elements of success is the ability to concentrate on the purposes or ambitions which an individual or a society may have. I heard a delightful story of Professor John Fiske, whom I had

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the pleasure of knowing very well. He was a distinguished historian, lecturer and essayist but always a philosopher. His wife said to him one day, "Our son has been making nasty remarks about our neighbors, the Joneses, and you must correct him." "All right," said the Professor, "bring the boy in." The Professor said, "Johnnie, did you say about our neighbors that Mrs. Jones was a fool and Mr. Jones a d—d fool?" The boy answered, "Yes, father." Instantly the parent was merged into the philosopher, and the Professor said, "Well, my boy, I would make just about the same difference between them." So we dismiss the critics and objectors of 1920 and rejoice that for the purpose of our organization it has been a successful year.

I have always been a good deal of an antiquarian and love to dig into the past for hidden treasures. In doing so recently, I made a discovery of the first importance. The Pilgrims Society on the other side is nineteen years old and ours is eighteen, but in these researches I have found the first English pilgrim. He was a man of distinction one hundred and forty-five years ago. He was elected to the House of Commons several years before we broke away from Great Britain and began the Revolutionary War. He remained in Parliament for half a century. He was a successful English farmer and a sturdy liberal in his principles. The Crown tried to win him by repeated offers of a peerage, but he preferred to re-

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

main a commoner. He was known all his life as Coke of Norfolk. He was the main supporter of that brilliant statesman, Charles James Fox.

When the troubles with the American colonies began by George III. and his Prime Minister, Lord North, attempting to tax the colonies, Coke of Norfolk supported the American patriots in their claim that there cannot be among Englishmen taxation without representation. He was our friend during the whole of the Revolution, as were Fox, Burke and Chatham.

When the war was over and peace declared, George III. refused to recognize American independence, and his obstinacy was one of the causes of power being taken from the throne and transferred to Parliament

It was a matter of vital importance to our Republic at that early period of our new government that Great Britain should recognize our independence, because then all the other nations would follow. Coke of Norfolk offered a resolution demanding of the King the recognition of American independence. He carried it through the Commons after an all night's fight, and then was designated as a representative of the Commons to carry their mandate to the King. Instead of going in court dress, he shocked and outraged the courtiers by appearing in his ordinary dress as a Norfolk farmer. When he presented the order of the House of Com-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

mons to his Majesty, he saw Benedict Arnold standing beside the throne. The King did not dare to risk a revolution by defying the Commons and so at once recognized the independence of the United States. It was to Benedict Arnold a decree of perpetual banishment from the country he had betrayed.

Many years afterwards, a grateful American went down to Norfolk to visit Coke at his home. Coke said to him, "I have supported you because you were right. During the whole of the war, I every night drank a toast to General Washington as the greatest man in the world." In those heroic days such a tribute was possible to a hero and a patriot.

Our Congress and the Parliaments of the world have, since the declaration of the armistice, witnessed a flood of oratory never before equalled. This is not strange because of the tremendous issues before the nations. The economic conditions of the world were never so bad, and there never was so much suffering among peoples outside the United States. Twenty millions of people are starving, and millions will die because the resources of civilization are not sufficient to help them. Yet, under these conditions we have a proposition before our Congress to build the greatest navy in the world and for a large army.

The alarmist tells us of impending war. War requires money and credit. The world is burdened

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

with unprecedented debts and has little credit. War on a great scale is impossible. Hostile battle ships will not bombard Kansas City, nor cruisers endanger Denver or Syracuse, nor destroyers disturb the peace of a former pacifist and now war-like Secretary of the Navy at his home in Charlotte, N. C.

Of all these speeches, so eloquent, so profound, so full of learning, which one appealed best to the war-worn, starving, slowly recuperating and debt burdened world? The speeches would fill a large library, and yet the best of them was condensed into one sentence.

The masters of the world who sat around the table at Versailles, adjusting the future of nations, were President Wilson of the United States, Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy and Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain. All have retired, except Lloyd George who is still master of the situation. It was Lloyd George who made this speech, and he at the same time had the gravest responsibilities. As chairman of the Finance Committee, he instructed the departments to reduce their figures by more than one half. This included the navy and the army.

Revolutions cannot be judged by time but by results. When Germany invaded Belgium, six years ago, a new era began. In 1918, Lloyd George,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

through the British Ambassador, Lord Reading, sent a message to the Americans which said substantially, "Our backs are to the wall. We will fight to the last. We need help. Come at once." Two million Americans went over. Three millions were ready to go. The Allies reached the Rhine. The armistice was signed. Autocracy and militarism were crushed, and liberty and civilization saved. We must adjust ourselves to the new era and solve its problems.

George III. was an absolute king, with an obedient Prime Minister and a subservient Parliament. Now the Prime Minister rules Great Britain subject to Parliament, and Parliament is responsive to the people. The lesson of the American Revolution made Canada, Australia and South Africa self-governing colonies, with institutions like those of the United States. These governments belt the globe. The necessity of the time is reconstruction, and reconstruction can only come through peace and international understanding.

The autocratic and military nations of Europe, one hundred years ago, formed the Holy Alliance to end representative government. The United States, through President Monroe, and Great Britain, through its Prime Minister, George Canning, agreed to and announced the Monroe Doctrine. This defeated the aims of the Holy Alliance and protected

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

the South and Central American republics and Mexico.

A century after the Holy Alliance, the forces of autocracy and militarism believed they were powerful enough for universal conquest. Again we were together, and with gallant France, brave Italy and heroic Belgium won a decisive victory.

We, the English-speaking peoples, must take the lead in the great task of saving in peace what has been won in war. Each national group can preserve its independence and retain its policies and activities, and at the same time work harmoniously with a constructive genius for civilization and liberty equal to the resourcefulness and courage with which they fought.

Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the
Pilgrims Society, Bankers' Club, New York,
January 25, 1922.

Fellow Pilgrims:

This year has been one of the most successful in our history. We have been successful in opportunities to promote and increase cordial relationship among the English-speaking peoples of the world. Our membership has increased, we have a surplus in our treasury, and our credit is first class. For the purpose for which the Pilgrims Societies of London and New York were organized, this has been the most fruitful of all years. It has been eminently full of get-together occasions.

It was perhaps inevitable that the Versailles Conference should have failed in bringing peace to the world. The history of such meetings during all the centuries has proved that their efforts have been partially or wholly destroyed by greed and jealousy. The United States was the only power at the Versailles Conference which was wholly unselfish, had no demands and no jealousies. Unhappily, because of the division of the spoils, the creation of antagonistic boundary lines, the arbitrary assignments of territories and mistaken processes of adjustment, the seeds were sown for future wars. Unfortunately, the articles of the League Association created violent

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

differences in the United States. The League of Nations will have opponents and violent advocates for generations to come. What an agonized world wanted was peace. After two years of efforts the world is threatened with political and economical chaos, and out of chaos comes anarchy.

Happily, the United States alone of nations is practically unimpaired in its position, its power and resources. It was for the United States to lead the way. Providentially, the inspiration came to President Harding and he called at Washington a conference on the limitation of armaments and the questions in and around the Pacific ocean. There can be no peace in the world while there is a rivalry among nations on increase of armaments. Our own program involved an expenditure for future wars greater than the total cost of the government previous to 1914. Japan was feverishly working to meet this; France and Italy were straining their resources, and Great Britain trying to maintain its previous two-nation standard.

When the conference met in Washington one of the great objects in the promotion of world peace was accomplished. The Powers met for friendly discussion. The tradition and the atmosphere of the Capitol were for peace. The mind and heart of the President were for peace. We as a nation have been charged with a lamentable lack of reverence for diplomacy, in fact, a limited knowledge of

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

its processes. The distinguished delegations in the conference expected to have the usual processes of elaborate programs and exhaustive discussions of what they were to do and how they were to do it. Instead came like a revelation the American method. Secretary Hughes laid all the cards of the United States on the table face up. He said the proposition of the United States is that we scrap a certain proportion of our battleships. Will you meet us in scrapping an equal proportion? It was the beauty of this surprise that it presented what would usually be the conclusion of a conference after endless debates. Its glory is that it was immediately accepted by the greatest of naval powers, Great Britain.

The proposition had the unanimous support of the English-speaking peoples of the world, and they were drawn together as never before and standing as a unit for peace. Visualize for a moment what we mean by the English-speaking peoples of the world. It is the United States with the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Guam and the Samoan group. It is the British Isles—England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, with the self-governing colonies Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa; India and innumerable islands and vast sections of continents belting the globe. When they speak together it is a mighty and overwhelming chorus of union and power. The Pacific ocean covering two-

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

thirds of the earth, with its shores and territories and their teeming populations full of elements of discord, are, happily, by this conference in process of settlement. We look hopefully and confidently for the results. We feel that from it may come the aspirations of two thousand years ago—"Peace on earth and good will toward men."

There is another and most significant settlement tending mightily to the union of English-speaking peoples, and that is the creation of the Free State of Ireland. With the aspirations of the Irish people, the vast number of their countrymen in the United States and the self-governing colonies of Great Britain, with the ardent sympathy of our people for Ireland while the discord lasted, perfect harmony was impossible. Now, happily, after seven hundred years of strife comes what we trust will be a realization of Ireland's hopes and peace and harmony in the British Empire.

We were all interested in the recent celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the entrance (as a boy) of Benjamin Franklin into the printing trade. Matthew Arnold thought that Benjamin Franklin was the greatest mind and one of the most potential influences of his time. As I read and read over again the story of his life, I am impressed that he was the first American pilgrim. So our society and that of our English friends, instead of reckon-

ing their ages as less than two score, they can claim that they count over two hundred.

In the troublous times and controversies which preceded the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin was for many years the delegate of the United States to England. During that period he became one of the most famous and best known men in the world. He had discovered electricity and its possibilities. His "Poor Richard" and other publications had been printed and reprinted and translated into other languages and read to a greater extent than the writings of anybody then living. He was elected a member of the great English literary societies. He contributed articles in the magazine of young Edmund Burke. Burke, the greatest brain in Great Britain, was so impressed by Franklin that during the Revolutionary War he was our most brilliant advocate in Parliament. He wrote articles for the publication of Adam Smith. Adam Smith became the foremost writer on economic subjects, and his "Wealth of Nations," which adopted Franklin's opinion, was a textbook and guide for British statesmen for generations.

Franklin made the people of England and its ruling minds familiar with American opinion and American genius. He created such a favorable sentiment that, except for the obstinacy and folly of George III. and his advisers, he would have prevented the measures which led to the revolt of the

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

colonies. When the war broke out he went to Paris. There he became one of the most popular and influential of diplomats. He fascinated the women of the French court, won the confidence of the King and the Queen and secured the alliance with France and the young United States. He was the first and the chief of American pilgrims and one of the greatest of constructive American statesmen. Franklin was over eighty years of age when the war ended, and still the best of our constructive minds he stood high in the confidence of his countrymen.

In these suffragist days, if still alive, he would be among the first in advocating the equal rights of women. He understood the sex. He so fascinated the butterflies, who were also the rulers of the French court, that they became enthusiastic advocates of the American revolution. After the Stamp Act had become a law, and the Americans revolted against it, he persuaded Parliament to repeal it, though it was subsequently re-enacted. That repeal brought about against the King and his advisers was undoubtedly one of the greatest triumphs ever won by a delegate or a diplomat. When he wrote his wife about it, to emphasize her appreciation he also sent her by the same post fourteen yards of pompadour satin costing eleven and sixpence a yard, and enclosed the receipted bill.

Gentlemen, with the conference at Washington nearing an end, and a successful one, with the Irish

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Free State starting safely and wisely upon its sovereign career, with the Free State and Ulster getting together, with the conference at Genoa settling, as we hope, the economic difficulties which threaten commerce, the credit and stability of the world, and the Pilgrims motto of friendship among English speaking peoples growing around the globe, we bid farewell to the year that has gone and hail with hope the years that are to come.

My friends, we cannot let this anniversary go by without paying tribute to a great Englishman, who also as a lifelong friend did great service for the United States—Lord Bryce. He understood the American people, their government and their political aspirations better than any foreigner of any nation. He did more than any one to educate the public opinion of the world upon the value and force of American liberty. During his long, laborious and useful life, he has been a wise and conscientious worker for the elevation of peoples, the liberalization of government and the peace of the world.

Gentlemen, we will rise and pay our tribute to the memory of James Bryce.

Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of the
Pilgrims Society, Bankers' Club, New York,
January 23, 1924.

My Fellow Pilgrims:

This is our annual meeting. Happily, the Pilgrims Society has had a successful year. We have enjoyed our membership, we have contributed in strengthening friendly relations between our two great countries and all English-speaking peoples. We have contributed in our way towards the peace for which Mr. Bok has given so much. None of our members has won the prize of one hundred thousand dollars, nor have we been summoned before a Senatorial Committee at Washington, but we have enjoyed our dinners, and have a satisfactory surplus in the treasury.

The success for the year with the individual, with the society, with the nation, is the ability to balance the budget. Before the war almost all nations were successful in the accomplishment of this result. Then they all had a currency at or near par. We have learned to appreciate from the extraordinary results in most countries the value of the circulating medium. We have been accustomed for generations to pay as little attention to it as the air we breathe. We know that one is essential for our physical, and the other for our economic life.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

The opportunity came for the revolutionists to carry out theories which they had preached for the salvation of the world. For the success of these theories, many of these revolutionists had passed their lives in prison or in exile. Their heaven would come, they claimed, when what is called capitalism was destroyed. There was to be no private property, no reward for individual capacity or industry, and everything was to be owned by the State, and all industries operated by the State. The instinct bred in humanity with our first parents of the rewards of industry and protection of that which had been honestly acquired, was to be driven out of humanity and its system destroyed. Notwithstanding the enormous sufferings caused by these experiments, it may be providential that it should be tried on a scale so large and so nation-wide that it had every opportunity for success if it was right, and if a failure would result in a disaster so phenomenal that the memory of it would forever prevent a repetition.

Russia was the great field for the trial. The theorists got possession of the government and all the main arteries of commerce and trade, and of all the production of the people. They had the railroads, the army, the police, the courts, and with the abolition of property rights, they attempted to abolish religion. All intelligence, education, energy and independence which stood in their way, were ruth-

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

lessly destroyed, millions perished and industry and agriculture ceased to function. Many millions died from starvation, and the United States fed for a year thirty millions of people. Great Britain and France twenty millions more. Then the theorists announced through their chiefs that it was useless to fight human nature, and that capitalism must be restored. The peasants were given back the land they had refused to cultivate; the people of the towns were invited to resume their industries and their business with a guaranty of protection for their efforts and for what they acquired. The whole capitalistic world is receiving the most earnest appeals to loan money and invest money for the rehabilitation of the economic life of the country, and the restoration and functioning of the old order.

Yesterday Lenine died. He was a revolutionist of extraordinary ability and courage. He had the opportunity on a gigantic scale to work out his theories. When he discovered his mistake and its tragic consequences, he had the strength to reverse his policies and restore the old economic and industrial order and to compel his followers to follow.

The year 1923 will live in history as the beginning of those restorative processes which are to save civilization and ultimately lead to a larger liberty in the world. The year 1923 stands out as apparently the period when in all countries people may climb upward and onward with sure steps. It has

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

given extraordinary and unexpected power to the American dollar. The American dollar, with the continental currency, having no basis or redeeming power, sank so low that my grandfather told me that he paid a thousand dollars in continental money for a pair of boots. At that time boots were worth only two dollars in gold. There has existed among English-speaking peoples for unnumbered centuries a phrase to indicate utter worthlessness—"it was not worth a tinker's damn." For a century after our Revolution, the memory of the continental money was so acute that to indicate the same thing, we said: "It is not worth a continental." After the Civil War, again having lost the power of redemption, the greenbacks sank to sixty-three cents on a dollar in gold. Now a dollar in gold or bills is the standard not only in the United States but all over the world. Russia recognizes that she cannot regain prosperity unless her ruble becomes equal with the dollar. Now it takes a billion rubles to buy a dollar. Germany's mark was once equal to a quarter of a dollar. Now it takes millions of marks to buy a dollar. The same, though in lesser degree, is the trouble with most countries, except Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. The standard to which all countries are aspiring in their effort for economic salvation is to reach as near as possible the equality of the dollar.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

These efforts have reached remarkable results. In our country they have brought about universal employment for both capital and labor. In Great Britain they have so energized industries and commerce that the British Isles can balance the budget and pay their debts. France has had an extraordinary recovery in her agriculture and manufactures, and is rapidly adjusting her economic life. Central Europe has revived, and Germany will be placed upon her feet. The power of law and order, of property rights and religion arose in their might and majesty in Italy, and called upon a dictator to accomplish, with their help, the restoration of the old order. The same element defeated Communism in Spain, and placed their government in the hands of a dictator. But, my friends, these experiments are the consequences of the desperation of the people who want a leader and call upon their strongest man to lead them out of the wilderness to civil and religious liberty and representative government. With success, power will be regained by the people.

The most extraordinary and encouraging fact is that labor and capital are arriving at their rights under proper partnership. Labor has advanced within the last two years to a larger share and a more important voice in the management of the enterprises upon which it depends and which depend upon it. Two labor banks have been established in

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

New York under the management of labor, and each starts with deposits of five millions of dollars. The same is true in some other cities.

While large wages have increased the cost, they have at the same time raised standards and practical education in the essentials of independence. The savings banks have surpassed all records, and colleges have become so overcrowded that they are finding it necessary to put a limit upon the number of their students. These conditions are not confined to the United States, they exist in Great Britain and in France.

One of the most astounding evidences of the universal accumulation was exhibited a few months ago in England. Though England is laboring under an almost impossible burden of taxes, yet thrift, economy and redoubled energy to get on had this development. A syndicate purchased a group of newspapers and appealed to the public to buy their securities to the extent of eight million pounds at six per cent. They said the opportunity would be open for three days. In half an hour after the subscriptions were permitted, they were closed because the eight million pounds had produced a subscription amounting to 110 million pounds. In other words, a sound and large interest paying investment, appealing to the general public for forty million dollars, had drawn from the same public in less than

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

half an hour six hundred million dollars. We enter upon 1924 optimistic and happy.

What we need is the money which is now locked up or hidden to make this prosperity successful. The scheme of the Secretary of the Treasury would draw that money out and put it at work in bringing the facilities of the railroads to a needed expansion and in developing our resources of every kind. The progress of this measure is halted because politicians of all parties are wondering if there are not more votes in appealing to the prejudices against the rich than there is in helping everybody, no matter what their income or accumulations. Politicians argue that this public demand is not organized so as to be felt in votes. But, my friends, public opinion, if resisted or outraged, will organize, and that is an immediate public necessity.

Our old friend Hopkinson Smith, whom you remember as a very brilliant American, told me this story. He was a Southerner and spent what time he could spare on his plantation. Sitting one day on his piazza, he noticed an old Negro coming up the road. He had formerly been a slave on the plantation. Mr. Smith said, "Well, Uncle Job, how are you?" "Oh," answered the Negro, "I's very bad, I's got rheumatism so I can hardly walk. I's full of trouble, full of pain. All night long I pray to the good Lord to take me away before morning, and all day to take me away before night." Smith said,

"Uncle Job, you are all wrong about that. Go around to the kitchen and see the folks." Smith sent word to the kitchen to fill up the old man with solid and fluid refreshment. After a while Smith found the old Negro jubilant, dancing and singing. "Why, Uncle," he said, "I thought you wanted the good Lord to take you right away." The old Negro paused while shouting hallelujah and said, "Why, Boss, that excursion am postponed." So our excursions into pessimism, into despair and into doubt for the future, are indefinitely postponed. Glory hallelujah!

My friends, three years ago deflation brought about so much bankruptcy, financial and industrial distress that revolution, war and chaos threatened in many parts of the world. It was the opportunity for the pessimist who predicted the downfall of civilization. The sustaining power and bulwark were the English-speaking peoples of the world. With their assistance other peoples took heart and went to work. The salvation of the world is work and constitutional liberty.

I believe in politics; their activities make for healthful public service. But there are occasions when politics must yield for patriotism, and all parties work together for the good of the country. The United States began its economical and industrial life under the guidance of the greatest constructive genius of his time, Alexander Hamilton.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

It has been a remarkable Providence in our history that in great crises a man has appeared in the government who was equal to the occasion. I believe we have that man now. He is not a politician, he is simply a business man of foresight and experience. He is a successor to Alexander Hamilton, and his name is Andrew Mellon. We are on the threshold of a development and prosperity which will furnish universal opportunities for the benefit of both labor and capital.

**Speech at the Annual Meeting and Luncheon of
the Pilgrims Society, Bankers' Club, New York,
January 28, 1925.**

Fellow Pilgrims:

In the life of every organization, its anniversary is an event. It takes account of stock and is encouraged or discouraged according to the results. Happily for the Pilgrims Society of the United States, every year has been a good one. The only difference has been the degree of prosperity.

In addition to minor affairs, we have entertained during the year Sir Auckland Geddes, the retiring British Ambassador, Sir Esme Howard, the new British Ambassador and Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who was here on one of the most interesting missions which ever brought a foreigner to the United States. The Cecil dinner interested the whole country and was largely reported and commented upon abroad. The world wants peace, and even the trouble making nations who are anxious for revenge, desire time for rest, recuperation and preparation. Lord Cecil, having won the prize offered to the statesman who has done most for the peace of the world, became for the time being one of the most interesting of international figures. Happily, our dinner to him won radio broadcasting and wide

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

publication in the press and was an important occasion for the year.

After every great war follows a period of wild speculation, great prosperity and greater adversity. This is due to the fact that a great war destroys such an amount of accumulated savings of centuries, such an amount of production of the farms, the factories and of all industries; such an amount of man power which can only be slowly made up, that peoples and communities have difficulties in adjusting themselves to meet conditions and calamities which are the results.

The ability of nations and communities to start upon a more hopeful career which comes rather suddenly, is difficult. It was the case after the Napoleonic wars; it was the case after the French-German war of 1871, and it happened after our Civil War. Our experiences then were first a few years of wild speculation and unnatural and unhealthy development. Railroads were projected and built into the wilderness, or with no proper information as to their value and usefulness. New factories started, water power utilized and an enormous overproduction resulted. Then came the smash with the panic of 1873. One must have lived through that calamity to know what a real panic means. When the Stock Exchange closed I was surrounded with human and financial wrecks, and many of them were clients of mine. There were men who had

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

been worth many millions. It was all gone, and they were in debts almost as much as they had previously been worth.

The way it happened is easily understood. As an example I take two men, clients of mine. They were worth about five millions of dollars and were very active in Wall Street speculation. Lake Shore, for instance, fell from over two hundred dollars a share to less than one hundred dollars per share. Then under ordinary conditions it was a good time to buy, so these successful men bought largely. Their margin was met with their stocks, and as the market, with their purchases fell, their margin fell also. Lake Shore, for instance, went down to six dollars per share and wiped out the speculative purchases and also the margin. Then, almost in a day, prosperity started and continued in healthy progress for a long time.

We had no great panic following the last awful war, because we had for the first time a great financial safety device. The Bank of England has prevented great financial disasters in what has been the world's financial center, London, for many years. The Bank of France has done the same for France, and in like manner the Federal Reserve has saved us.

1924 will stand in history as the beginning of the new and prosperous economic life of the world. It is reflected in our stock market in wheat going from a dollar to two per bushel and revolutionizing our

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

politics, in the pound sterling reaching par, in the franc and the mark being stabilized.

But this is no occasion for a world discussion, and we will return to the Pilgrims Society. We are able to exist on our limited income and give free luncheons. (This is an example for all members who with contributions reduce the cost of formal banquets.) I reveal the secret for the benefit of individuals, corporations and governments. It is because the Pilgrims Society has no overhead charges. Its income is net and is used by expenditures for the purpose of its creation.

I am met constantly by people and institutions who complain of hard times because they say overhead charges and taxes eat up all our savings. President Coolidge is the only one of our Presidents who has made the foremost principle of his policies the reduction of the national debt. When he became President, our national debt was twenty-four billions of dollars. We could not live and prosper under such a load. He has reduced it nearly four billions by cutting expenditures and lowering the overhead. If he can reduce our expenses of the Government for the next four years, he will get our debt down and also our taxes.

The whole power and resources of Russia are in the hands of a few resourceful and determined men who are promoting by propaganda and by trained agitators unrest and political and economic troubles

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

all over the world. The conditions created by the Great War gave them the opportunity. But 1924 has witnessed in nearly all nations wonderful rising and coöperation of the people who stand for law and order, for progress, liberty and civilization to act together.

The safety of the world and its hope are in the great middle class. They constitute a majority in all countries, and in the United States they are more than ninety per cent of the population.

The extraordinary feature of the world's recuperation and defence against anarchy and rescue from chaos has been the rise of masterful leaders who have organized in their several countries the great middle class. Benes has proven one of the master minds of history in what he has done for Czecho-Slovakia. Spain's dictator has saved Spain. But the most remarkable man of the period, who will stand out as the constructive genius of our century, is Mussolini.

The forces of disorder had got possession of the great industries in Italy and were ruining and closing them. Economic ruin, with its natural results of unemployment, poverty and revolution were rapidly approaching. The great middle class and Mussolini saved Italy. Happily, the English-speaking peoples of the world need no dictators, no de Rivera, no Benes, no Mussolini. To a remarkable degree they have recovered from the disasters

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PILGRIMS

of the great tragedy and are demonstrating the inherited qualities which have given them their great place in the world.

1924 has witnessed a cordiality of sentiment, a unity of purpose among the English-speaking peoples which will become in the history of the world one of the greatest assets of this remarkable life-giving year.

The time will come, if we all coöperate with President Coolidge in his campaign to wipe out our great debt, if our Congress will respond heartily and wisely and work with the President and the people, when our income tax will be largely reduced. With that reduction the wage earner in every department of life will be inspired to renewed efforts, because what he earns will belong to himself. The investor, who is saving that his family and helpless ones can be cared for when he dies, will have encouragement in his beneficent efforts which help the community. The time is not distant, if these conditions prevail, when the United States will be not only the best land to live in and for opportunity but an economic Paradise.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

Speech on the Occasion when the Lawyers' Club
of the City of New York Conferred upon Mr.
Depew the Honorary Life Membership, No-
vember 16, 1918.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

During the sixty-four years I have been on the platform, I suppose I have been introduced to audiences oftener than any living American. This is the first time, however, that my introduction has been preceded by a eulogium of the ladies. Of course, I have admired them all my life, and done what I could to make them happy, but I did not know they were to share in this honorary degree. Do you know that if you live long enough, nearly everything will come to you? It is only a matter of time, and the beautiful thing about it is that when you are advanced in years, your stating the thing doesn't lead people to believe you are bragging about yourself, because it is what comes in the course of nature.

Now I look back over eighty-five years, seventy of which have been of intense activity. I have had my ups and downs, good luck and bad luck, losses and gains, but when I come to sum it up I think I have got, on the whole, what I deserve. It is all a matter as to what, during the later years, the waves will cast upon the sands of time. If it gives

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

you friends, notwithstanding your years; if it gives you health; if it gives you work sufficient to keep your mental and physical activities alive, then life is worth the living.

Now, one of the great elements is hope, and I have been hoping for this honor for thirty years. But hope does not amount to much without faith, and I confess that during these thirty years faith has weakened. Still I had a lesson the other day in faith. I was going up the Avenue when the Liberty Loan Drive was on, and in front of the Public Library was a great meeting addressed by a lady. Immediately there came to me a man you all know, that enthusiastic gentleman whom I did not know. He said, "Senator, glad to see you here; how are you? I said, "Is that lady Miss Blank? The sign up there says so." He answered, "Yes, and she is a crackerjack; she is the finest woman speaker in the world, and the speech she is making now is the finest she ever delivered." I said, "My dear friend, the noise around here is so great that I cannot hear a word." He said, "Neither can I."

I have always had faith in this club because I was one of the founders. It was a serious proposition. Mr. Hyde, of the Equitable, created it. He was very resourceful and a great genius, and he built one of these immense modern buildings. But thirty years ago, down in this section of the town, there was not that flying from all parts of the world

LAWYERS' CLUB SPEECH

there is now. Today, from all over the northern and southern hemisphere, and from Europe, they are coming here to find offices, until every square inch of ground goes up to the sky like a Kohinoor diamond. But it was not so then. So, how to utilize the upper floors? In the conclave, in which my friend, Mr. Butler, who introduced me so eloquently, was a member, someone suggested a dining club. "But," said he, "it must be unique. Let us call it "The Lawyers' Club." "But," said somebody, "there are not lawyers enough with business enough." Then came the bright idea: "Invite your clients and let them pay for it." That settled the question, as it always does where lawyers are concerned.

So our club has gone on. But I have had a unique distinction in it. For twenty odd years I have been so much at Washington, and when in the City I have been uptown and could not get down here to enjoy these facilities. I made it a rule, however, to lunch here once a year, and I lunched on the day when my dues were payable. Then I attached to my bill for the lunch my dues of \$100, and \$100.75 put me in the front rank of lunchers. No such lunch was ever had or ever paid for, and now I have the reward.

My friends, I appreciate this as any man must appreciate a compliment that comes from long association, especially when those associates are such

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

as the members of this club. Leading lawyers, and great judges have been members and enjoyed its hospitality. It has been the gathering place of lawyers who have been the ornaments of the profession, and I appreciate most highly that I am now selected to receive this honor, and I thank you for it.

But, my friends, you cannot help feeling the inspiration that has come from the eloquent words of the gentlemen who have addressed us—our friend the newly-elected President of the new great republic of Czecho-Slovakia, our friend who has voiced its aspirations, and that distinguished United States Senator Hitchcock, who is an ornament to the State which he represents, and to the great body of which he is a member.

My friends, we are here because it is an occasion of joy, immense, uncontrollable joy; it is a joy to see a new nation born, and born why? Because it is born out of the ultimate results of our Declaration of Independence.

You know Professor Masaryk said that "You expect us to do our part." My friends, we as young people used to read of Xenophon and his ten thousand Greeks seeking safety. But we have read with infinitely more spirit and enthusiasm in our old age of thirty thousand Czecho-Slovakian prisoners in Russia, who marched over six thousand miles, not to save themselves, but to reach a port where they

LAWYERS' CLUB SPEECH

could join the armies of civilization and humanity on the Western front, and all along that line destroying anarchy and Bolshevism and establishing orderly government.

My friends, there comes to my mind a little recollection just now, personal to myself, which might be appropriate to the occasion. I was thirty years ago at a hotel at Salzburg in Austria. The ladies will remember Salzburg as the place where a Salzburgian had eight wives. The secret of how he managed to be so lucky was revealed by the eighth who escaped and told the story. It seems that after he got tired and wanted a new one, he tied his wife to a bed-post and tickled her feet until she died of convulsions, and then after the eighth had revealed what was the matter, they executed him and buried him alongside of the seven, so their spirits could comfort him.

One day it was announced with great excitement in the hotel that the old German Emperor was approaching. Soon he came in accompanied by his staff and the present Emperor, then a young man. The old man was feeble, but when he saw the crowd he braced up like a grenadier and followed the iron bedstead, which he always carried with him, upstairs. The next day the major-domo of the party, who, with the knowledge from secret service which is so peculiarly German, knew everybody in the hotel, came to me, knowing all about

me, as much as I did myself, and said, "The old gentleman is in a very bad way and we are in trouble." And then I had an opportunity of talking to the staff and of seeing the young man. Two days afterwards the major-domo came to me and said, "The Emperor is leaving today. There are two hundred English in this hotel, and they are all on the upper landing; they are each one with a bouquet and a spokesman with an address waiting for him to come down, so they can greet him." I may say there was only one other American family in this hotel besides my own, and we sent the old gentleman a bouquet the day he arrived, and I wrote a little address to him. The major-domo said the Emperor was very much pleased with the present. He was very much pleased with the address, and if I would be with my little party at the foot of the lift, he would there greet us. So, at the foot of the lift stood the other family and my family. The Emperor was most cordial. The young man, his grandson, who spoke English perfectly, interpreted. I had a pleasant conversation with him and formed a high idea of his ability, and then they went off. Half an hour afterwards the waiting English, with their bouquets, discovered they were gone.

Now the future of this young man, at that time, looked to be hopeless. His grandfather seemed likely to live for many years; his father was in

LAWYERS' CLUB SPEECH

middle life and likely to live as long as his grandfather, and yet in six months from that time the grandfather died, the son came to the throne, and in three months he died. Within nine months of that time the young man was Emperor of Germany.

Some years afterwards I was in London and was to dine with an eminent English statesman, Lord Rosebery, to meet Mr. Gladstone. As I went in, I found my friend, the host, in a high state of excitement, and he said, "In *Punch* today is one of the most extraordinary cartoons that has ever appeared in that paper. I have been down and bought the original sketch." He had it hanging in his library as one of his choicest possessions, though it was surrounded with priceless works of art. It was "The Dropping of the Pilot." There was a picture of a great German ship, and, leaning, smiling and confident over the rail was the youthful face of the German Emperor. Down at the bottom of the steps, just going into the boat, was the discarded pilot, Bismarck. The English statesman said, "In that picture may be more history and peril to Europe than in anything that has occurred in this generation."

The next time I saw the Emperor was several years afterwards at the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. From all the Seven Seas had been gathered the vast fleet of the Island Empire, the Mistress of the Seas, to greet their Queen, on the sixtieth

anniversary of her reign. Suddenly there appeared among them a fleet of German war vessels, and everybody was deeply interested. It was the German Emperor who, at that time, was arousing the curiosity and apprehension of Europe. He came with the Prince of Wales on the ship where I was. The Prince of Wales, as always, was most affable, polite and cordial. The Emperor was very quiet and reserved, until the captain of our ship said, "Your Majesty, here is a new gun just invented, a rapid firing gun." In an instant the whole atmosphere of the Emperor changed. He was all over that gun; he examined every part of it and then gave vast orders to his fleet commander for its purchase. It was plain to see that his whole thought and mind was military, and everybody said, "For what?" And nobody appreciated it was for the conquest of all the world.

A few years afterwards I was in Paris. The Emperor had made demands of France which would have led to war, and then he had demanded the dismissal of the French Foreign Secretary of State, something never known before. Then he asked that he should have his hands free to crush France. That was stopped by the emphatic "No" of his grandmother, Queen Victoria. But from that time to this, there has never been a moment when the French people have not looked with apprehension and terror across the Rhine. There has never been a

LAWYERS' CLUB SPEECH

moment when there was not a threat, when there was not almost a movement to cross the Rhine and repeat 1871 greater than before and crush France.

Finally that day came. We have seen it all; we have been with the French heart and soul; we have seen how wonderful was their spirit, men, women and children, and today, on this very day, Foch, the great commander, enters Metz, which was the seal of the surrender of France in 1871. My friends, when I think of the Emperor and what he was, and what he had, and what he might be, when he had made an economic conquest of the whole world, and then started for physical conquest and lost all, and where he is now, it seems below the dignity of the occasion, but it really inspires a limerick I heard many years ago:

Little Willie from the mirror
Licked the mercury all off,
Thinking in his childish error
It would cure his whooping cough.
At the funeral Willie's mother
Sadly said to Mrs. Brown,
It was a cold day for Willie,
When the mercury went down.

Well, my friends, in judging the Emperor—and we are judging him now very well all over the world—we must remember that when he entered into this

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

war every man in Germany was for it, and the General Staff was threatening him if he did not declare it. We must remember that every professor in the German universities was for it. We must remember that every preacher in the German pulpits was for it, and we must remember that every man, woman and child in Germany was for it.

All sorts of punishments are offered or suggested. But, my friends, physical punishments amount to little. I read the story of Ravillac, the assassin of Henry IV, and how on the third day he commenced to laugh, and his torturer said, "What are you laughing at?" He answered, "You have destroyed sensation; I don't feel you any more." But the agony of the mind never dies. The Kaiser has six hundred years of an ancestry that he worships, six hundred years of the greatest inheritance that ever came to a human being. Like a gambler he risked it on the throw of a dice, and lost, and for the rest of his life, if he lives ever so long, he lives amidst sorrow, regret and bitterness. He is deserted by the kings whom his vanity has hurled from their thrones, cursed by the people of other lands, by his own people who have suffered so much—cursed by his own people! Why? Because he did not win and bring them the loot which they hoped to share. My friends, let us be just, and let us help to keep off the dark cloud of anarchy until Germany can be reconstructed.

LAWYERS' CLUB SPEECH

Now, my friends, here we are this day, and really I want to shake hands and embrace everybody. This day is the most joyful in all the world. I remember the day on which it was flashed throughout the country that Lee had surrendered at Appomattox to Grant. There was wild joy, but with it was the feeling that it was brothers differing from us and fighting for a different ideal who had been whipped, and the rest of the world cared nothing about it except to regret that the great American Republic with its ideals had not been destroyed. But today, for the first time in all the world, we get the ideal which Christ saw on the scaffold of "Peace on earth and good will towards men." Today, for the first time in two thousand years, all the peoples of this earth are rejoicing because they are going to have the peace of the Cross and the realization of the liberty of our Declaration of Independence.

**Speech before the Methodist Ministers' Association
at the Memorial Service for Theodore Roosevelt,
held at their Chapel, New York City, January
13, 1919.**

My Friends:

It is a very great pleasure for me to meet you here this morning. I am glad to comply with your request to join in your service for Theodore Roosevelt. He was my friend from his boyhood until his death. No one could know him without having for him the profoundest affection and the greatest admiration. He was one of the most extraordinary men of our period, or of any period; he made history and was a most important factor in the history of his time. His whole public career is lined with monuments in beneficent legislation and individual achievement testifying to services of the greatest value for his country and the world. He was born two years before the breaking out of the Civil War and was President of the United States when it was the necessity of the Executive to have a united country in support of policies for the benefit of the whole United States. For this destiny he was fortunate in his ancestors: his father, of Dutch and Scotch ancestry, was a leading citizen of New York and one of the most useful and prominent citizens of the

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

North; his mother was from Georgia and represented the best blood and traditions of the South. He could appeal, as no President had been able to since the Civil War, to all sections of the country, North, South, East and West. Harvard gave him an eastern culture and ranch life on the western plains brought him in contact and close association with those pioneers who have discovered, developed and peopled our territories, from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

Mr. Roosevelt had the adaptability, the energy, the grasp of affairs, the talent for instantly comprehending difficult problems which would have made him a great captain of industry and one of our multi-millionaires. He inherited a small trust estate, the income of which was not sufficient for more than a quarter of his expenses of living and yet it had the singular effect upon him of destroying all ambition to accumulate a fortune. He always felt sure that by his own exertions he could so supplement this limited income as to meet all requirements, and at the same time the income was an anchor which in great stress or necessity would prevent his drifting to want.

This confidence of Mr. Roosevelt was due, even at that early day, to his love of work for work's sake. He had a consuming desire to be all the time doing something and producing something. When he was Governor, with all the exactions of the place, he,

nevertheless, found time to write books. He was under contract with his publishers on both the African hunting trip and the Brazilian journey of exploration. After a day of rough travel and perilous adventure, when all his companions were used up and asleep, he sat by a box on which was a candle and by its flickering light wrote the day's chapter for his book. He was daily contributing to the press and to weekly and monthly magazines, constantly giving interviews and making speeches, and yet in some mysterious way found time for conferences with political leaders, with men of letters, with distinguished visitors, with his publishers, the managers and the editors of his magazines and newspapers.

He was a frequent attendant at social functions, and the most desired and welcomed of guests at public and private dinners. He was temperate in all things, but a glutton for work. His activities were during the greatest period of industrial development which this country has ever known, a period in which masterful men developed in an unprecedented way our natural resources, our manufacturing and our transportation with results that were enormously beneficial to communities and multitudes of people, but yielded fabulous returns to the architects.

Colonel Roosevelt admired these men and their achievements but always looked upon them and

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

what they did from the standpoint of public safety and public service. His clear vision was never obscured. He had no fear of big business and to his mind the bigger the better, if the best results for all could be had that way; at the same time, if in his judgment the process was becoming dangerous to the public welfare because of its tendency to monopoly, he became at once its enemy.

I remember as if it were yesterday the commencement of his career. From the beginning his ambitions were for public life and public service. A Republican district leader, forty years ago, came to my office and said: "We have this difficulty in our district. A small part of it is composed of what the boys call 'silk stockings' living along Fifth Avenue and the adjoining streets, while the major part of it runs over into sections which are under the control of Tammany Hall. To keep our organization alive and secure for the boys some recognition in office holding, I have to deal with a very difficult problem. These dealings have offended the 'silk stockings', but we need their votes and especially their contributions. I can think of but one way out and that is to nominate for the legislature a representative of these men of wealth and high social position. What do you think of young Theodore Roosevelt?" Of course I became enthusiastic at once. "Well," said this astute leader, "we will have a dinner at Delmonico's and bring him out. None

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

of our organization will attend, only that class will be invited, but I will be in the pantry. I want you to preside." The dinner was a great success; there were about three hundred present. It settled the question as to whether the district organization was patriotically doing its duty, because everyone present said, and they all knew each other, "What lies and slander have been perpetrated and circulated against our district!"

Young Roosevelt was at that time about twenty-two years old, but he looked much younger. He did not have the clear and confident way of talking which made him in after years such an impressive speaker. He cultivated oratory until he became past-master of public speech for influencing public opinion. He read for about an hour from his manuscript to an audience of as hard-headed, practical and successful men as could be gathered in New York. They were tolerant of his emphatic views on the evils of city, State and national government and how he would correct them.

It is one of the extraordinary things in politics that this young man of twenty-two, afterwards as Police Commissioner of New York, as Governor of the State of New York and as President of the United States, had the opportunity to carry out these policies and to translate them into laws. He was for three years a member of the Legislature and, notwithstanding his youth, came very near being

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

made Speaker. He impressed himself upon the whole State so that he was made chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention which met in Chicago in 1884. There, as ever afterwards, he was for high ideals. The Party organization learned that here was a rising force whom they could not break but, as far as possible, must come to follow. The organization was overwhelmingly for Blaine, but Roosevelt organized a party and led it with his usual enthusiasm and vigor for George F. Edmunds, the famous Senator from Vermont. This action put the organization against him and kept him out of public life for the next two years. President Harrison put him at the head of the Civil Service Commission. The spoils system was very popular, especially among members of Congress. It was Roosevelt's peculiarity and distinction that, whatever duty was imposed upon him, it was done to the best of his ability without regard to popularity. He became the best hated man in Washington by increasing the offices subject to the Civil Service examination from ten thousand to over forty thousand. New York had elected a Reform Mayor. He found that the Police Department blocked and neutralized all his efforts. He must have a man who would do right and in doing right dared to be unpopular. The most conspicuous example in the country was Theo-

dore Roosevelt, and Mayor Strong made him Police Commissioner.

The new Commissioner startled, aroused and enraged a wide open city where the law against vice had always been laxly enforced, if at all, by announcing as his policy the rigid enforcement of the laws. Saloon keepers and gamblers, votaries of pleasure and all that multitude who in a great city, if unrestrained, violate the law, were instantly up in arms. They formed a great parade for personal liberty but to their amazement found the new Police Commissioner occupying the front seat on the reviewing stand. A German brewer shouting, "Where is Roosevelt now?" was amazed by hearing the Police Commissioner say, "Here I am, my friend; what can I do for you?" The surprise reversed the German mentality, the brewer called three cheers for Roosevelt and that part of the procession collapsed. Wherever in the district infested by gangs and gunmen the patrolman's life was always in danger, there, at all hours, Mr. Roosevelt would be found strolling along and in constant peril of assassination. Discipline and efficiency soon made the New York police the finest body in the world.

But this great cosmopolitan city soon got tired of the virtue which comes from the enforcement of the law, so Mr. Roosevelt accepted the offer from President McKinley of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This appointment is an illustration of the ways of

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Providence in providing the man for an emergency.

There was a crisis in our international relations because of intolerable conditions in Cuba. With his usual foresight and instinctive grasp of situations the Assistant Secretary of the Navy saw that war was inevitable and began to prepare the navy for its part. After much opposition he succeeded in having Dewey appointed to the command of the Asiatic squadron. It was an era of rigid economy and saving of powder. Roosevelt's resistless importunities secured an appropriation of nearly a million and half for powder. When asked by Congress what he had done with it, he said, "Burned it up in target practice." So when the Spanish War came, while there was unpreparedness everywhere else, Dewey's gunners sank the enemy's fleet in Manila Bay and the marksmen of Sampson and Schley destroyed, while they were trying to escape from Santiago Harbor, the hostile warships. So great was the terror in the department of this young Assistant Secretary that the Secretary of the Navy, a most estimable gentleman and excellent officer, having arrived at the station in Washington to take the train for his vacation, changed his mind and returned to his desk, saying, "I must watch my Assistant Secretary."

Mr. Roosevelt was one of the few more responsible than others for bringing on the Spanish War.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

It is well known that the President did his best to prevent it. It was the characteristic of Roosevelt that he never asked from others that they volunteer for a dangerous enterprise unless he was willing to share in it himself. So he raised the "Rough-riders" regiment and, by gallantry in action, became the foremost figure in the Spanish American War.

The political situation in New York State was very critical for the party in power. The people had voted nine millions of dollars to improve our canals. Governor Black ordered an investigation which resulted in finding that one million of it had either been lost or stolen. The canals have always been politically perilous to the party in power in the State of New York. They belong to the people and the people are exceedingly sensitive as to the integrity of their management. Mr. Thomas C. Platt was our State leader and asked me to a consultation as to a candidate for Governor. He said, "Ben Odell," (afterwards our distinguished Governor Odell), "has advised me to select Roosevelt who is in camp on Long Island, having just returned from Cuba, but as Police Commissioner, Civil Service Commissioner and Assistant Secretary of the Navy he has always been uncontrollable either by the party organization or his superior and I am afraid that he might be most dangerous to our organization." I said to him, "In my judgment, Roosevelt is the only man we can elect. Having

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

been all my life on the platform, I judge of every question, political or business, which affects the public, by how it will be received by the people in an audience. Of course I shall make speeches as always and will expect the heckler to ask questions. He is bound to say, 'Your eulogy of the grand old party is all right, but how about that million of dollars stolen from the canal fund?' Then the speaker has to explain that it was only a million and that will be fatal, but if you nominate Roosevelt I can say to my friend, the heckler, 'I am very glad you asked that question. We have nominated for Governor the greatest thief catcher there is in the world; as Police Commissioner he cleaned up New York and in the Cuban War he has cleaned up that Island. He is the one man who will find out what became of that money and if it was stolen to punish the thieves and secure restitution. The band will play "The Star Spangled Banner."' Then Mr. Platt said, "That settles it, he will be nominated."

Nothing has impressed me so much as the accidents of public life. In business and professional careers, brains, industry and efficiency always tell, but not so in politics. The National Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1900 was a unit for the re-nomination of Mr. McKinley, but all at sea about the Vice-President. Roosevelt's independent and masterful administration of New York as Governor had made him so powerful that not to re-

nominate him was to court defeat and to re-nominate him was equally dangerous on account of the hostility of the local organization all over the State. So there was a general assent to his being put on the ticket with McKinley for Vice-President. Mr. Roosevelt strenuously opposed it. He said, "The Vice-Presidency is a tomb and I will not be buried." By general consent a candidate was left to the New York Delegation. Governor Odell was the leader of the delegation for convention purposes and I was elected its chairman for routine duties. It was an historical hour when the New York Delegation met. With fervent and eloquent speeches, Governor Roosevelt was placed in nomination. In a most emphatic speech he declined. The question was put to a vote, and he was nominated unanimously. In great agitation he again declined. There was a small minority determined to put in the place a very popular member of the delegation but not of Vice-Presidential standing. So after further debate we nominated Roosevelt again, he again declined, and then I declared the meeting adjourned to prevent further action. The next morning he accepted. This was the crisis of his career.

In a few months after his inauguration, McKinley was assassinated, Roosevelt became President and gave to the country seven years of the most eventful and fruitful presidential terms in our history. An incident of the convention may be of interest.

There being no contests because the nominations were unanimously agreed upon, the orators of the convention had no opportunity of presenting the claims of various candidates, so they exhausted themselves and exhausted the audience by making practically the same speeches over and over again for Mr. McKinley and Governor Roosevelt. The crowd had ceased to listen and had begun to scrape the speakers down, when a western delegation came to me and said, "You never get out our way, and we would like to hear you speak." Roosevelt as a fellow delegate sat immediately in front of me. He turned around and said in his quick way, "Yes, yes, he will speak. He must give us something new; if these bores keep this up any longer it will beat the ticket." And he seized me and practically threw me upon the platform. It was one of those occasions where a story is the only salvation for a speaker. Near me sat a portentously solemn United States Senator whose platitudinous speech had already been delivered three times. As I started the story, he turned to the chairman and in a horrified and tragic voice said "Great Heavens! The solemnity and dignity of this historic occasion is to be ruined by a story."

Great and successful leadership requires many qualities. I have known, beginning with Lincoln, with considerable intimacy every President of the United States. None of them had all these qualities

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

except Mr. Roosevelt. He was a born leader of men. His industry was phenomenal but in addition was that intelligent work which knew where to find what he wanted and his marvelous intelligence which grasped, absorbed and utilized this material with the precision of a machine.

He loved companionship and found time to enjoy his friends. When that friend left, he had contributed all he possessed to the materials useful to this great Executive. He might be a college professor, a United States Senator, a Foreign Ambassador, a State Governor, a Justice of the Supreme Court, a labor leader, a cowboy from the ranches, a hunter from the mountains, a traveler from overseas, all were equally welcome and all equal contributors.

In looking over the acts recommended and the laws passed during Roosevelt's administration, we find a mass of constructive work, of progress and reform, which gathers, condenses and puts in practice the accumulated necessities which had arisen since the close of the Civil War.

We rejoiced in our marvelous prosperity at the same time it was our greatest peril. A few masterful men were combining the industries of the country and had almost perfected the consolidation of its transportation. Roosevelt alone, of his contemporaries, with his unequaled insight into public opinion saw a gathering storm. He sensed an unrest which was culminating into dangerous hatred

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

of success. He set about vigorously to correct these evils and succeeded. His railway legislation did away with many of the abuses which had necessarily grown up with the rapid progress of railway building and consolidation. He put a curb on great Trusts and blocked the way of general monopoly. He incurred the bitter and venomous hostility of powerful interests in the financial world, in speculative circles and in the stock exchanges, but when he sent, as he was in the habit of doing, for captains of industry, he converted at least one of the ablest of them by putting in a sentence a pregnant truth, "Sir, you have to deal with me now, or the mob later."

For four hundred years, ever since Balboa, the Spanish explorer, crossing from the Atlantic saw nearby the Pacific, the world has tried to unite the two oceans across the Isthmus of Panama. Where the centuries had failed, Roosevelt succeeded. Except for his drastic action the canal would not have been built. It may not be a moral or an ethical or a legal answer to the question but the reasons for President Roosevelt's action are summed up in the remark of John Hay, his Secretary of State, to a delegation of objectors. It was, "We have the canal."

Mr. Roosevelt's explanation of the acquisition of the Panama Canal, made in a recent address on Mr. Choate, was characteristic. It was in no sense an apology, he never had occasion for that. He

said, "In the effort to secure the land and a concession of the rights required for the construction of the canal, there was a succession of negotiations resulting in agreement and then breaking of the agreement by Colombia, with a demand for constantly increasing compensation. I made up my mind that the talking about the canal might go on for fifty years without results, so I decided to secure for our country the canal and let the people talk about me as they pleased for the next fifty years."

The people so thoroughly appreciated the wise radicalism and the constructive work of his administration that they wished for him to violate the traditions against a third term. He had great difficulty in escaping the call and in nominating his selection for the office, Judge Taft. He threw himself into Taft's campaign with an energy and resistless force never surpassed in any presidential canvass. His rare unselfishness was exhibited by his absenting himself immediately for two years afterwards in the wilds of Africa in order that his overpowering personality might not embarrass the administration of his successor.

He believed, and he had good reasons for believing, that a majority of the delegates elected to the convention from Republican constituencies in 1912 were for him and that they were thrown out and the majority reversed upon technical grounds.

Whatever may be thought of his action in bolting

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

the ticket, there never was such a demonstration of power by an individual. He was a private citizen without patronage, or the usual resources for propaganda. We are as a rule devoted to our parties and to their organizations and yet he polled four millions of votes, carrying a large majority of the party. The division thus created led to the election of Mr. Wilson and a Democratic Congress. But the second demonstration of marvelous individual power was when, four years afterwards, he disbanded this Progressive Party, and its four millions of votes, and united the Republican organization in support of the regular candidate, Governor Hughes.

Two illustrations of his power have no parallel in the life of any Executive. War has now given absolute power to the United States Government to settle strikes through various Boards and arbitrary machinery. Roosevelt had none of these. The coal strike threatened a coal famine which would have paralyzed our industries and caused general distress. President Roosevelt summoned the employers, the mine owners, the operators and the leaders of the Miners Union, and purely by his magnetism, force, personality and grasp of the situation brought about a settlement which opened the mines and continued for many years.

He was the most vigorous of fighters, and if a fight was necessary believed in hitting hard and hitting to kill. But he saw the horrors of war and

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

was ever ready to do his part to avert it. He grasped the danger there was to the peace of the world in the conflict between Russia and Japan. He summoned the representatives of the combatants to a conference. Without any authority whatever by legislation, but solely in the interest of humanity, he offered himself as an arbitrator and purely by his individual magnetism and influence upon others brought the commissioners of Russia and Japan to assent to an agreement, the details of which were largely suggested by himself: These two instances were almost miraculous.

Mr. Roosevelt, on his way home from his hunting and exploration expedition in Africa, was received with signal honors, as if still President, by Great Britain, France and the Kaiser. He was hailed with the same enthusiasm and demonstrations which have greeted President Wilson, both in London and Paris.

This most original of men could not help in a public speech pointing out any weakness in a nation, which he thought needed correction, and explaining how the difficulty could be remedied. He had passed through Egypt, which at that time was seething with revolt or efforts at revolt against British rule. In his speech at Guildhall the ex-President said to his amazed audience, "You are in Egypt and I think rightfully there. You have difficulties, and greater ones are threatening. You

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

should either govern Egypt or get out." If any other foreign statesman had made this amazing declaration to that audience, composed of the Cabinet and most eminent men of Great Britain, it would have been instantly resented. The British are good sportsmen; they recognized that the chief of sportsmen had frankly told the truth and they cheered.

Mr. Roosevelt was received at the Sorbonne in Paris by an audience which comprised the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and his associates, members of the French Academy, and distinguished representatives of every department of French life. Again there was a successful trial of his extraordinary and characteristic audacity in telling the truth. He said substantially this, "You have every element of leadership among nations except in population which seems to be decreasing. The remedy is in your own hands. Stop race suicide." Again the assembly was shocked for the moment, and then cheered. Roosevelt had put his finger upon the one great danger of France: the general restriction of children to one child in a family.

Mr. Roosevelt met the Kaiser, and with his intuitive knowledge of men understood his characteristics. If these had been equally grasped by statesmen of other free and liberal governments, this frightful war might have been averted. The Kaiser

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

sent a German fleet to seize a port in Venezuela to enforce certain claims of German subjects against that country and its citizens. Roosevelt notified the Kaiser that the question in dispute must be arbitrated. The Kaiser refused. President Roosevelt then notified the German Ambassador that Admiral Dewey and his fleet would sail for Venezuela within a week. The Kaiser again refused to arbitrate. The President then sent this message: "Admiral Dewey will sail day after tomorrow." The answer of the Kaiser was such an emphatic acceptance of the demand of the President of the United States that Roosevelt announced to the public in his grim and characteristic way—"The German Emperor, with his well-known desire for peace and justice, will withdraw his fleet and arbitrate all questions with Venezuela."

It was the President's psychology of public men and public sentiment of foreign nations which led him to solve and settle threatened difficulties with Japan. Through the East specially, and to a large degree in Europe, there was almost absolute ignorance of the strength and power of the United States. The American battle fleet was ordered to sail around the world. This formidable array of war vessels of the most modern design and equipment and ready for immediate action produced a profound impression in all countries. It was peace by demonstration of preparedness and power. It was the funda-

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

mental article in Roosevelt's creed that preparedness and power in a free and liberty loving nation instead of provoking war promoted peace.

We hear much of self-made men. But here was one born to wealth and ease. He had a weak constitution of the kind which in ordinary cases leads to careful idleness, but by the most strenuous efforts of physical exercise, or roughing it on the ranch and in the hunting field, in bouts with boxers, fencers and wrestlers he became one of the strongest men. He had an impediment in his speech which he turned into fluency and from the beginning until the end his oratory grew in effectiveness and in power with the people.

He first among our public men saw what must be our position in this world war. He found the great mass of his countrymen satisfied with their isolation and pacifists in sentiment, but in season and out of season he preached preparedness and the peril to us at home and to our institutions of the triumph of autocracy upon the field of battle in Europe. It was the wonderful effect of his stirring appeals which made it possible for the President to secure universal assent for the declaration of war. Roosevelt was never more himself in that faculty which was one of his strongest points of practicing what he preached and placing himself in the forefront of danger than in what he did when our country entered the war. He proposed to raise a

division and go with it at once to France. That was denied, but he sent his four sons. When one of them was wounded and the other killed the pathetic answer of this bereaved patriot was, "Better so, than that they should not have gone."

I was in the Senate during the whole of his presidency and saw him nearly every day. It was a delight to visit the Executive office or to meet him in the closer associations of the White House. He was the most outspoken of public men. As I was entering his room one morning a Senator was coming out. This Senator had made some request of the President which had angered him. He shouted to me so the Senator and everybody else could hear him: "Do you know that man?" I answered "Yes, he is a colleague of mine in the Senate." "But," the President shouted, "he is a crook." Subsequent events proved the President correct, the man came within the clutches of the criminal law.

I never knew such an omnivorous reader as Roosevelt. He mastered all literature, past and present. Several times I called his attention to a book which had been sent me and was just on sale. He had always read it.

Public men fear newspapers. I never knew one who would go out of his way to fight a great journal, or fight it at all. But I made a request of him once, on behalf of one of the greatest of our newspapers, for a diplomatic appointment for one of its

IN MEMORY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

staff. The paper had never before made such a request, but he said so the whole room, including all the reporters, could hear him, "That paper can expect nothing from me."

Two of our ex-Presidents are still a force with their party and the people. They are Jefferson and Jackson. Jefferson's influence was because of his versatility, political foresight and a literary talent. Jackson's by his iron will and command of men, Roosevelt united in himself all the power, talent and force of these two remarkable leaders.

Roosevelt was intensely human; he had neither airs, fads nor frills. His cordiality was infectious, his friendship never failed. No man of his generation has so long held public esteem and confidence with continuing admiration and expectation. His work in the world was great and greatly done. It is a commonplace when a great man dies to say: "It is not for his co-temporaries to pass judgment upon him; that must be left to posterity and to the historian after the passions of his time have been allayed." There are only two exceptions to this maxim, one is Washington, the other is Roosevelt. The testimony at the time about Washington is the same as the judgment of posterity. With this magnificent fighter, this reckless crusader, this hard-hitter, the world is stilled and awed when the news of his death is flashed over wires and cables, but the instant voice of friend and enemy is the same. All

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

recognize the purity of his motives, the unselfishness of his work and his unadulterated Americanism. His last expression sent to a public meeting in New York, the evening before he died, is the thought upon whose realization rests the security of our institutions and the future of our country. It is that there is no place in our land for divided allegiance. Every citizen must be wholly American.

Speech at the Dinner given by the Lotos Club
of New York in Honor of Mr. Depew's Eighty-
Fifth Birthday, May 1, 1919.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Twenty-three years ago this club honored me with a dinner. The date selected for the occasion was the twenty-second of February. For nearly a quarter of a century I have been wondering what were the points of resemblance between George Washington and myself, that his birthday was selected for my celebration. I know we differ in many ways. I had at that time been in politics for forty years, and a railroad man for thirty. The effect of both those activities was such that it was impossible for me to say, with the Father of his Country, "I cannot tell a lie."

Tonight we are celebrating my eighty-fifth birthday and forty-five in the membership of this club. During that nearly half century I have been a participant in almost all the compliments which we have extended to men of eminence in every walk of life. It is one of the most delightful of recollections to recall these memorable nights when geniuses of world-wide fame were talking to us as familiars and friends.

I recall several because of incidents which marked the evening. Lord Houghton was famous in Par-

liament for interlarding his speeches with Latin quotations. He had in some way received the impression that our members were either college professors or men of letters. The result was that his quotations from Horace and Virgil were more frequent than ever. It was glorious the way we rose to the occasion. I am sure he left us believing that the best parts of his speech were those which we did not understand.

On another occasion our guest of honor was Canon Kingsley. We were all familiar with his works. "Hypatia" and "Westward Ho" were already classics, and there was no one present who had not read them both. Because he was Canon of Westminster Abbey, Bishop Potter presided and did the honors. Bishop Potter was one of the most tactful men who ever lived, but that evening he failed and his joke missed fire. The Canon was facially distinguished by the largest, most highly colored and most prominent nose of anyone I ever saw. It indicated endless banquets and the finest vintages of old port. In a complimentary and beautiful address, Bishop Potter alluded to the contributions which Canon Kingsley had made to English literature and then, in the effort to be facetious, rather enlarged upon the fact that his headlight distinguished and illuminated the highway of letters. The evening was spoiled because the Canon got mad,

LOTOS CLUB SPEECH

and his irritation was not allayed during his visit to this country.

One of the most delightful and distinguished evenings was when we had as our guest, George Augustus Sala. That night was impressed on my memory because from it came one of the choicest friendships of my life. A great journalist had recently come to New York and was rapidly lifting a moribund journal up to prosperity and influence. He was a free lance, and among his victims were Mr. W. H. Vanderbilt and myself. Scarcely a day passed that we were not excoriated on the editorial page. I sat beside him at the dinner, never having met him before. When my turn came to speak, I thought I would venture on one of those audacities which, if successful, surpass any other method of attack. We had not spoken during the evening. I called attention to the fact of his presence and of our nearness and neighborliness and said that the time had come to reveal a secret of our apparent antagonism; that when he came to New York he visited me at once and said, "To stir up the dry bones of this old town, I must attack its most successful citizens, and the most successful is Mr. Vanderbilt, and you are his counsel. Everybody not so well placed in the world will be glad to read what is said, and that includes the entire population." I claimed that he said, "I don't want you to have any hard feelings on this account, be-

cause we will both be benefited. I will be benefited in circulation, advertisement and income. You will be benefited because your chief, appreciating that you are equally attacked, will give you both promotion and additional salary." Both of us have won the success which he promised. When I sat down, the journalist turned to me, took my hand and said, "Chauncey Depew, I have been mistaken about you. You are a mighty good fellow. You will never be abused by me again."

I had another singular instance of what may be accomplished and what may be reversed in an after dinner speech. Because I supported Horace Greeley in 1872, and ran for Lieutenant-Governor on the Liberal Democratic ticket and made innumerable speeches which were not pleasant to the other side, General Grant was grievously offended. When he came to New York I met him about four evenings in the week, and the temperature was decidedly arctic. While in Washington I received a telegram from Justice John T. Brady, that most excellent of judges and genial of men and entertaining of speakers, insisting upon my being present at the dinner of the St. Patrick's Society that evening and making a speech. I at once took the train for New York. In that six hours ride I prepared an elaborate address. Of course, I arrived at the banquet hall late, and as I passed on to my seat, General Grant was speaking. He had not then acquired the

LOTOS CLUB SPEECH

facility which came to him later. As I took my seat he said, "If I could stand in the shoes of Chauncey Depew and Chauncey Depew could stand in mine, I would be a much happier man tonight." I at once threw away my prepared speech and set about thinking what I could say upon the text, "Who can stand in the shoes of General Grant?" There was an inspiration in the subject and in the occasion. As I went on speaking, the wildest enthusiasm was aroused, and at the conclusion some leaped over the tables and tried to carry the General around the room. He came up to me and greeted me with the greatest warmth and the most complimentary adulation upon my speech. From that time forward until his death, I had no warmer friend than this the greatest of our soldiers.

Age is regarded curiously at different periods of life. I do not think a woman ever wishes to admit her age. With a man, until he is forty, he tries to appear much older in order to secure confidence, and after that, until he is seventy-five, he tries to appear much younger, but when he has reached eighty and from there on he brags about it.

I remember when I ran for the Legislature in 1861, at the age of twenty-six, and two years afterwards for Secretary of State, I wore a high stock and a high collar and assumed every appearance of ten to twenty years beyond my period, and on the advice of the New York State Committee.

Precisely why eighty-five should be reckoned as a period of distinction is not clear, but I remember that my dear old friend Joseph H. Choate scarcely ever mentioned his age until he had passed eighty-five, and then he constantly reminded his hearers in making a public speech, or his friends in private, that he had passed this climacteric period. In the age of great after dinner speakers none equalled him. There was something so spontaneous in his wit and so fascinating in his humor that he was irresistible. For nearly half a century we appeared almost every month upon the same platform. If one spoke before Mr. Choate his fate afterwards was not to be envied. I remember on one occasion, in his droll way he pulled out of his pocket a little pamphlet. There is a village in the western part of the State of New York named after me, and the enterprising citizens had dug down and found natural gas. Of course they at once formed a company and issued a prospectus and began to sell stock. In some way this prospectus fell into the hands of Brother Choate. In presenting it to his audience he read from the title page: "Depew Gas Company, Limited," and then in a quizzical way said, "Why limited?"

The Psalmist many centuries ago gave a prediction which has killed more pious people than anything that was ever printed. He said that three score and ten was the limit of life, and that if one was spared longer the succeeding years are all misery

LOTOS CLUB SPEECH

and sorrow. Certainly that has not been true of me. The most beautiful, the most happy and the most contented years of my whole life, long as it has been, have been since I passed the three score and ten mark. In politics during that period I have been twice United States Senator. I have made more speeches, attended more conventions, participated more in the affairs of the world than ever before, and, having ripened and become more sensible and more optimistic, have seen the world with a clearer vision and a more hopeful future.

I find that there is a certain jealousy among elderly people who are impaired against other elderly people who have kept fresh in body, mind and spirits. When I was eighty-two, at the request of the New York Academy of Medicine, I delivered before them an address on "How to grow old." It was widely published, and among the letters which came was one from California. The writer said, "Your speech before the Academy of Medicine in New York on "How to grow old" has been printed almost in full in our local paper. I notice you say that at eighty-two you are in as good condition in every way as you were at fifty. I am eighty myself and know what it means. That remark shows that your mind is impaired."

There are jealousies after one passes into the sacred realm of the eighties. At St. Augustine, Fla., they have a celebrated historical society. Its op-

portunities are great because St. Augustine is the oldest city in the United States, and has wonderful relics of the early Spanish settlement. The Society, of course, is principally interested in things connected with the fifteenth century, so they gave me a reception. One enthusiastic octogenarian came up and said, "Senator, I am only three years younger than you, and, except yourself, I am the oldest man here." The Vice-President of the Society said, "That means eighty-five. I am eighty-eight." The discouraged octogenarian returned in a few moments with his wife and remarked to the Vice-President, "You may be eighty-eight, but my wife and I together are a hundred and sixty."

One wants to be complimented, after having passed into this delightful period, upon his youthful appearance. Having been on the platform for sixty-three years and spoken all over the country, I am met on the streets everywhere by men and women who say they heard me speak thirty, forty, fifty and some sixty years ago. I find that all they remember about the speeches are the stories I told; but what pleases me is that they invariably say, "Although it was forty years ago, you have not changed a particle." I feel as Methuselah must have felt when, according to the old story, one of the beauties of the court said to him, "Methuselah, this is your birthday. How many is it?" Methuselah answered, "My dear lady, it is nine hundred

LOTOS CLUB SPEECH

and sixty," and she said, with a beaming smile, "You don't look a day over nine hundred and thirty."

One of the beauties of a long life, properly lived, is that it destroys pessimism and cultivates optimism. I have lived with acute recollections of three-quarters of a century in periods of extreme depression. Among the things that fell to my inheritance, and which I read in early life, was a batch of letters written by my great grandfather who was an up-State judge, a rigid Presbyterian and a bitter Federalist. In these letters he was lamenting the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency. He claimed that Jefferson was an atheist in religion and a radical in politics. By reason of his power and his doctrines this good old judge saw the destruction of the Church and the ruin of the country in the permanency of Jefferson and his ideas. Nevertheless, Jefferson and his ideas have been the prevailing ones in the development of this country for more than a century. I hardly think that those claiming him as a patron saint follow very closely the lessons which he taught.

I remember when Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison preached the abolition of slavery they were regarded as the enemies of their country by the great mass of our people. They were denounced in the press, in the pulpit and from the platform

almost everywhere, and yet in their ideas were ultimately the salvation of the Union.

I recall how the election of Lincoln was to the great mass of the American people the death knell of the Republic. We now see that it was the election of Lincoln and the emancipation of the slave and the consolidation of the power of the Federal Government which made the United States what it is today and prepared it for the great part which it has taken in the last two years in the salvation of the world from autocracy and barbarism and from insecurity for liberty and civilization.

One of the great things to learn in prolonging life, is to leave alone patent medicines, health fads and rules for longevity. The late Mr. Fletcher captured not only this country but Europe with his theory that if every bit of food was chewed until the substance of it disappeared, a man at one hundred years of age would be still in his infancy, and yet Fletcher died at sixty-nine. Professor Metchnikoff, the famous Russian scientist, traveled through the Caucasian Mountains and saw the kirghiz who subsisted on buttermilk and lived generally to be centenarians. He immediately adopted the theory that buttermilk and the century mark went together. The result was that all mankind took to drinking buttermilk, living on buttermilk and dying with buttermilk; and then, that it might be more universally distributed, Metchnikoff invented a sys-

LOTOS CLUB SPEECH

tem by which it was put up in capsules, and the commonest thing in life was to see friends swallow these capsules and look forward to an eternity of activities. The theory went to smash because Metchnikoff died at seventy.

I have a classmate who at eighty-four wrote me that while his congregation had retired him without salary and without a pension, he still managed to support his family and retain his cheerfulness, "Because," he said, "of my venerable appearance I am in great demand for weddings and funerals, and cannot accept your invitation to come to you this month of June, because June is my open season."

When I was in the South a few weeks ago, a friend of mine who had a number of Negro tenants found that one of them had been detected making moonshine whiskey, a very popular and profitable occupation in prohibition States. The judge said to him, "What is your name?" He answered, "Joshua, your Honor." Then the judge asked, "Are you the Joshua that made the sun stand still?" "No," answered the Negro, "I am not that Joshua. I can't make the sun stand still, but I can make the moon shine."

Now, my friends, I cannot make the sun stand still, nor would if I could, but I have done my best during this long life to shed light into dark places, to make people contented with their lots, and to

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

extend the area of companionship and good fellowship.

When living upon the Hudson, often in a dark night, when the world was not going very well with me or with my friends, I have wandered up on the hills as the moon was rising, and as its rays dispelled more and more the surrounding gloom, the trees came out, and then the old mountain, and then the waves of the Hudson glistened as of polished silver, and the whole universe within my vision seemed radiant with light and joy and hope. May it be so with you and with me, and may we know that life is worth the living.

Speech at the Luncheon given by the France-
America Society to Ambassador Jusserand,
Bankers' Club, New York, September 6, 1919.

Mr. Ambassador and Gentlemen:

This is the birthday of the Marquis de Lafayette. In the United States it is universally observed with celebrations in his honor. It is the one hundred and sixty-second of these anniversaries, and a hundred and forty-two since Lafayette, his generous mission for the American cause in our Revolution victoriously ended, sailed for home.

It seems singular that now we, for the first time in all these years, should make Lafayette's birthday a national holiday. But there are many reasons. The Great War has brought Lafayette, and what he did for us in our early struggle, prominently before us. We recognize that he was the hero of one of the most picturesque, romantic and decisive actions in our history. In the dark days at Valley Forge, when the American army was rapidly diminishing and deficient in arms, ammunitions and clothing, and Congress was without credit, Washington said to Lafayette, "We are almost at the end of our tether." Lafayette instantly decided to return to France and seek assistance. His success in Paris was phenomenal. He captured the King and the Queen, the Court and Cabinet for the cause of America, and

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

returned with an army of French veterans, a fleet of warships and money and munitions for our soldiers. The French Financial Minister, who tried in vain to prevent France entering upon the adventure, said: "Lafayette so fascinated all that he might have carried to America with him the King and the Queen." The assistance secured by Lafayette came at the most critical period in our Revolution. It gained our triumph and saved us as a nation.

The most interesting events in history are when it repeats itself, and a remarkable illustration is the assistance furnished in our crisis by France, and the aid given by the United States nearly a century and a half afterwards in the peril of France. The drain upon French resources was so great, because of taking part in our Revolution, that it led to bankruptcy and intolerable taxation. No claim was ever made for reimbursement, the debt remained uncollected and unclaimed. While we entered upon this war not alone for liberty or humanity, but because our rights and sovereignty were imperilled, yet every soldier in the field and every soldier at home felt we were trying to pay a debt long overdue and repeating for France in her danger what she did for us in ours.

The reason why the recognition of Lafayette's great service did not come at once, is clear to a native and lifelong resident of the northern part of

TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND

Westchester County in the State of New York. The capture of West Point, sixty miles above New York, on the Hudson River, was always the enemy's objective. For the protection of West Point an American army was entrenched in the Highlands, north of Peekskill, and that village was often the headquarters of General Washington. The people of the neighborhood were in close touch with all the famous military leaders of the Revolution. As a boy I heard the narrations of the elders, of whom my grandfather, a soldier in the Westchester regiment, was one. They knew Washington, Putnam, Wayne and other generals, but not young Lafayette.

The historian may ultimately fix the position and rank of famous characters, but "the man in the street" is the judge for the time. By "the man in the street" I mean the vast majority of people absorbed in their vocations and daily happenings, which are within their vision. They make presidents out of contemporary heroes, who do not survive the test of time. To "the man in the street," when the French assistance arrived, the hero was Rochambeau, the general of the French army, leading his superbly equipped and disciplined force from Newport to Yorktown and return. He made an indelible impression on the country. He was hailed everywhere as friend and saviour. But he was only the visible instrument of the skill, foresight and efforts of Lafayette.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Lafayette did not come to his own in American appreciation until many years after his return to France, and then it was due, in a measure, to the rising appreciation of Washington, who had been dead many years, and had become almost canonized in the minds of the people. With him was associated Lafayette. Then Lafayette visited this country and was hailed as a benefactor and the intimate friend of Washington. Oratory, journalism and literature united in placing before our people the debt we owed him for the assistance which he, and he alone, had procured for us from France in the crisis of our struggle.

The greatest, most tragical, the most destructive in its ultimate results, the most revolutionary war of all times is with great rapidity and unusual calmness being analyzed and its problems solved. As always, it will gradually center as illustrative of its achievements in the person of some great leader. At present, as in times past, it is the general, the military hero. But elimination is progressing with great rapidity. Joffre, whose victory on the Marne saved France for the time being, is becoming a mythical character. Haig and Beatty are embalmed in the House of Lords. The generalissimo of all the armies, Marshal Foch, is growing in stature and reputation day by day. His wonderful achievements put him in a class differing from Cæsar or Napoleon. He, at the same time and on the same

day, was coördinating the armies of the Allies for contemporaneous and mutual helpful work all over the world. From his office orders went to Pershing, commanding the Americans in the center, to Haig, commanding the British on the right, and to Pétain, commanding the French on the left in France, to Diaz in Italy, to Allenby in Palestine, to d'Esperely in Bulgaria and Turkey. On this far-flung front every movement was a success. Soldiers, marching triumphantly under the control of Foch, the master spirit, were of every nationality, race and color.

Foch, as the greatest commander in the number of his armies, the territory covered by their operations and of their triumphs, will long hold the interest and imagination of mankind. But the crowding events of the reconstruction of the world will concentrate attention upon the statesman of the period. I venture to think that Clemenceau will always be a commanding and representative figure of this wonderful time. He alone had been for forty years in the forefront and on the border line of autocracy and liberty. He inspired hope and maintained the morale of the French and the British armies when disaster seemed inevitable, and inspired all his associates with faith that America would come in and furnish the help to win. The student and statesman in the future will look to the council table as the source of the good or ill from the deliberations at Versailles. Clemenceau,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the oldest of the five and the most experienced, the greatest living exponent of practical and wise idealism, so skilfully and tactfully guided the treaty among the dangers of selfishness, ambition, greed and idealism that from the conference, so far as the treaty itself is concerned, the warring world is placed upon a working and peaceful basis.

General Pershing will arrive next Monday and will be received with a popular enthusiasm and military and civic demonstrations, greater than ever known in our history. There will be handed to him telegrams from fifty million women of the United States, each conveying a message of affection and most of them a kiss. Women have come into an equal share in our government. If the General survives this unique and extraordinary tribute, he has an asset in the controlling force of our civil life, which may carry him anywhere, whether he has ambitions in that direction or not. It certainly makes him a favorite son of the United States.

Much is said and more is intimated in an active propaganda now in progress to disturb the relations between the French and the American people by charging the French with profiteering upon our army. A little incident, occurring where I was born, illustrates that the individual, if given opportunity, will make profit where the best of his fellow-citizens would gladly contribute, as the great mass of the French did. When Rochambeau and his army

TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND

returned from the victory at Yorktown they camped for a week in upper Westchester. On the day they were to leave for the coast to take ships for home, and as Rochambeau at the head of his brilliant staff was about to start, a country constable rushed up waving a paper and shouting to the General, "You are forbidden to go!" A farmer had sworn out before a Justice of Peace a writ forbidding the departure of the French army unless he was paid four thousand dollars in gold for the damage, which he alleged the French encampment had inflicted on his farm. At that time four thousand dollars in gold would have bought a township. Here was a remarkable exhibition of the quick education in American liberty. Rochambeau, veteran of many wars, had paid little heed, nor had any European commander, to the civil population or the civil law, but for the first time in the history of the army of that period, Rochambeau left a deposit with the proper authorities to cover any damage that could be proved, and received permission from the court, the court being the Justice of Peace, to go. A jury of neighbors subsequently awarded the farmer four hundred dollars in Continental money.

Of the many peace treaties pending before the Senate, the one between the United States, Great Britain and France should receive unanimous ratification. France has stood alone on the border between autocracy and militarism, representative

government and democracy for over forty years. She is as much our outpost as she is her own, and never again, when liberty is in peril, should we permit her to stand alone.

A short time before the war was declared by Germany against France, I met Ambassador Jusserand at the American Embassy in Paris. Feeling very much depressed he said, "I have just come from our War Department. Germany is determined upon war, and she is already within our borders and seizing points of strategical importance. Time is almost here when safety will compel us to resist."

The most eventful five years in the story of mankind have passed since that interview. M. Jusserand, from long service dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington, has had during that period a more difficult task than any of his colleagues. He knew the vital necessity of both the friendship and the assistance of the United States. He knew that the most adroit and penetrating propaganda ever launched, and backed by unlimited millions of money, was trying to keep the Americans and the French apart. He brought over delegations from France, representing every department of French achievements in letters, in arms and industry. He guided their appeals to the American people, and his master mind and directing intelligence prevented mistakes and accomplished triumphant results. One of the most stirring and inspir-

TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND

ing chapters in the diplomacy of this war will be that which tells of the genius, the wisdom and the tact, together with the triumphant success, both for his own country and ours, of Ambassador Jusserand.

**Speech at the Installation of Hon. Elihu Root as
Honorary Member of the New York Gene-
alogical and Biographical Society, May 4, 1922.**

Mr. President, Mr. Root, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is one of the most gratifying events of my life to be here this afternoon upon the agreeable mission of conferring the highest honor which the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society can bestow upon my lifelong friend, Mr. Elihu Root. It is a rare occasion for any society to have the opportunity of giving its highest distinction to one whom it desires to honor, and who, by acceptance thereof, confers a distinct honor upon that society.

It may not be understood by all present what this Society represents. In most countries of the world, except our own, the governments keep records of the genealogy of their citizens. All tribes, even savage ones, believe in heredity, and a full knowledge of the heredity of individuals tends to raise the standard of good citizenship and to foster loyalty to the mother country; therefore governmental institutions are maintained for the collection and perpetuation of such records. In many countries they are kept in order that the line of class distinction may be clearly marked. In our country we have no class distinction, therefore the government has not attempted to keep records of the

INSTALLATION OF HON. ELIHU ROOT

heredity of individuals. This function has been taken up by societies such as this one, which is a pioneer in the field. In the course of time many others will be founded all over the country in order to firmly establish in the minds of all that the fundamental principle of boyhood, girlhood and the qualities of youth are sustained, maintained, stabilized and perpetuated by a knowledge that the coming generations have an ancestry whose high standards they are in duty bound to live up to and improve upon.

The conditions surrounding the settlement of this country were such that for a long time we were purely agricultural, from which condition we eventually became a manufacturing people. For a hundred years after the settlement of New England, there was not a lawyer in that entire territory, and few of them in the country. By a process of phenomenal development we have become the greatest producing country in the world, not only from the farm, but from the factory, the forest and the mine. In the course of time, as all civilized countries do, these farmers, manufacturers, foresters and miners saw that, if they were to have a proper government, they must have lawyers. The result is that while we have about one hundred and five millions of people, of whom less than five hundred thousands are lawyers, yet the lawyers govern us. They are in the Senate of the United States, in the House of

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

Representatives and in the State Legislatures. They, of course, control the courts. The only place where they don't appear with any advantage is in our miserably governed cities, which have heretofore been governed by saloon keepers. I do not know who will run them now that the saloon has been abolished.

We know that we have the most wonderful Constitution in the world, and it is the only one which, after one hundred and thirty-three years, is still in full force, effect and efficiency, while the Constitutions of most other countries in the world have been revolutionized over and over again. This is because those wonderful lawyers made our Constitution so adaptable to the needs and necessities of a growing democracy that it is today, with some recent amendments which have been added by those who are not lawyers, still in effect.

Well, my friends, we are happy to have with us today the leader of the American Bar, a great lawyer in the long list of these men who have run our Government for the past one hundred and thirty-five years.

We Americans have not been able to hide ourselves, nor to remain hidden. It is a tradition that when Columbus first landed on the island of San Salvador, he found the Indians assembled on the shore, and their chief turned to them and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot hide ourselves

INSTALLATION OF HON. ELIHU ROOT

any longer; we are discovered." All efforts of the United States to isolate itself for the past century have been failures. We are in need of being more and more in touch with the affairs of the world. We cannot live as an over-producing country unless we have markets for our surplus productions; and we cannot have markets for those productions unless we are doing our part and having a voice and influence in the affairs of the world.

We began early to recognize this important fact. Our first diplomat abroad was Benjamin Franklin, who, I am inclined to think, was the ablest man of his time, because he possessed that unusual faculty, an extraordinary amount of common sense. He was sent over to England to represent the interests of the American Colonies, and he persuaded the members of Parliament to override the then existing government in order to defeat Lord North and George III. in their endeavors to put across the Stamp Act. However, this Stamp Act was later passed and became the law, because the political machine generally comes out on top if we give it time enough. It may therefore be said that the machine put the Stamp Act on top and likewise many other things which brought on the American Revolution.

If Franklin had succeeded it might have happened that the dream of Lord Rosebery would have come true, and the United States, being the largest

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

of the colonies because of its advance in power and population, would have drawn the center of government over here. New York would then have been the capital of the British Empire and Buckingham Palace in Central Park.

Happily for civilization, liberty and the world, that extraordinary event did not occur. Happily, George III. and Lord North kept on their way which our people, headed by Franklin and other patriots, would not tolerate any longer. We had our Revolution, we obtained our liberty, and we became the United States of America, one of the most fortunate events that ever happened in the history of the world.

Very soon after the Revolution, when we as a sovereign power came to making treaties with other sovereignties, we had once more to consult the lawyers, and the first treaty we made with Great Britain, one hundred and twenty-eight years ago, was drawn up by the Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay. This treaty was very unpopular at the time, but, nevertheless, it is the basis today of the friendship among English-speaking peoples.

The last century was a preparation for the great World War tragedy through which we have just passed. We have experienced the worst upheaval of all times, the greatest war the world has ever known. It was the only war which involved all the peoples of the earth, and it would have been a

INSTALLATION OF HON. ELIHU ROOT

failure except for the unity of purpose, friendship and coöperation of the English-speaking peoples of the world. This friendship, unity and coöperation are likewise essential to utilize and maintain the benefits secured as a result of this gigantic struggle.

Happily for us, we had in Mr. McKinley's Cabinet our distinguished guest as Secretary of War. He, with an intuitive grasp of the situation, recognized the weakness of our little standing army and developed it into a most effective instrument of war. Later on, as Secretary of State, he saw that it was necessary to bring into existence every relationship for peace between the United States and Great Britain, and to remove all possible sources of irritation. There were any number of such sources in existence, which had not been settled to the mutual satisfaction of both countries, such as questions of boundary, territory and fishery rights, which in times of excitement may lead to war. When war once is started, the passions of the people are aroused, judgment loses its control and the result is chaos.

Mr. Root, as Secretary of State, took up all these outstanding questions of disagreement between the United States and Great Britain, and when he retired from that office every disputed question, every source of irritation was amicably settled, and we

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

were in a position to act harmoniously in active coöperation in case the necessity should arise.

So it was when the war burst upon us, when civilization and liberty were threatened the world over, and it was obvious to the minds of farseeing statesmen that the United States and Great Britain, acting together, could bring about those results which the English-speaking peoples of the world most desired; it was then the armies and navies of the United States and Great Britain, coöperating on land and acting in harmony on the sea, were most influential in winning the victory over their common enemy.

This awful war is over, and we are now in the midst of the chaos which generally results. Such chaos is the natural outcome of such universal upheavals. The only serious question that presents itself to us for consideration is: Can this chaos be prevented from developing into anarchy, thus producing other wars and ending in the final overthrow of our present civilization? In my judgment the greatest of the constructive agencies which have been created and brought together for the purpose of preventing such a dire calamity was the Conference of Nations in Washington, called by President Harding.

Happily, that conference, meeting in a place in no way associated with any suggestion of hereditary enmities, and having among its members the most

INSTALLATION OF HON. ELIHU ROOT

able men of the associated powers, was able to bring about such an understanding as crowned its closing. Such an harmonious agreement could not have been brought about anywhere else. The overshadowing influence of the United States in that historic and deliberative body was for peace; the overshadowing home influence behind every one of the delegates was for peace. How could this much desired peace be had? Our own country was rushing with a stimulated zeal and great speed into serious contemplation of greater extension of existing armaments. One House of our National Legislature had already agreed upon a program outlining this proposed expansion, and a similar program was under advisement in the other House.

Such, my friends, was the situation when the conference met, and when it adjourned wonderful results had been accomplished. A solemn agreement had been reached by which it was determined that forty per cent of the great ships of war of the signatories should be scrapped; it had been agreed that one of the sources of irritation, which was being used with full force by the jingo press of this country, namely, the possibility of a war between Japan and the United States, should be removed by the abrogation of the existing secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan. 'This treaty had been a source of infinite suspicion and enmity in

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

this country, and when it was annulled a great sense of relief was experienced.

This much being accomplished, the conference agreed upon that wonderful Four Power Treaty, by which the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan entered into a contract, not to be enforced by the strength of arms, but by a contract based upon the honor and conscience of the contracting parties, to preserve peace in the only place where there seemed to be a possibility of war in the future, that is, upon the Pacific ocean and its surroundings.

Fortunately for us, ladies and gentlemen, in that conference sat a man who had been for years in close official contact with the questions then under deliberation; one who knew all about and understood the delicate nature of the difficulties which were to be removed; one who had administered that department of our national government which has to do with the settlement of such questions; one who was not only a preëminently great lawyer, but also endowed with intimate knowledge of and information about the subjects determined upon by the conference. His advice in the deliberations of that Council were of infinite value, and that man was Elihu Root.

For the last one hundred years, increased during the last fifty, we have had considerable trouble because of the jealousies of the Pan-American nations of South America. We enunciated and maintained

INSTALLATION OF HON. ELIHU ROOT

the Monroe Doctrine more for their protection than for our own. They were suspicious of it and afraid of the dominating power and influence of this country. Our old friend James G. Blaine appreciated this sentiment of distrust when he was Secretary of State and tried to ameliorate it by calling together the Pan-American Congress, which was too narrow in its outlook. It was composed of delegates from the different countries, but they were not able to make clear to the Congress the sentiment of their respective peoples.

Mr. Root, when Secretary of State, did the one great and essential thing to clarify the atmosphere surrounding this matter of vital importance to us and the South American peoples. He visited their countries; he went to their capitals and delivered illuminating addresses before their legislatures; he met their presidents and public men, and, when he returned home, there was peace in the South American countries, a friendly fellowship between them and the United States.

Such are some of the remarkable accomplishments of our honored guest. But I know of another. Andrew Carnegie, with that keen judgment of men which was one of the sources of his wonderful success in industry, endowed an organization with enormous capital, and the purpose was the promotion of peace throughout the world. He recognized Mr. Root's preëminent qualifications as a leading

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

member of that body. This organization has its opportunities, it has exercised them throughout the war, and has since been spreading the propaganda for peace and good will among all the peoples of the world.

We are assembled here today for the purpose of recognizing, so far as we can, this distinguished American whom it has been my pleasure to know for the last fifty years. I love old associations.

The other day I was walking in St. Augustine, Fla. A man stepped in front of me and said, "Chauncey Depew, I want to shake your hand. I want to shake it because of old associations. Twenty-five years ago I was in Lucerne. I went to the little church one Sunday. It was so crowded that I could only get a seat near the door. I saw you way up in a front seat. I had never met you and did not meet you then, but I want to shake your hand because of old associations."

As regards Mr. Root and myself, it so happens that our associations have been the intimacies of all kinds that spring up in social, political and professional life, and I recognize him as a leader in each of these spheres.

My friends, Mr. Root has been the recipient of more honors of this kind from American and foreign universities and scientific organizations than any living man I know of, and so we of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society are glad to

INSTALLATION OF HON. ELIHU ROOT

be a part of that procession which has honored him. In honoring him, we honor ourselves.

It is my pleasure, on your behalf, to confer upon him the honorary membership of this Society. To be an honorary member of any society that fills a recognized and useful function in such a community as our great City of New York, is a distinction in itself. The ordinary member comes and goes, he passes on and is forgotten, but the honorary member goes on forever. He has no office and pays no dues but is always there.

**Tribute to M. Aristide Briand, Premier of France,
at the Dinner given in his Honor by The Lotos
Club of New York, Thanksgiving Night, No-
vember 27, 1921.**

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen:

I have been a member of the Lotos Club for forty-eight years. I have been living more than eighty-seven and have passed through many interesting and trying experiences. I have been to many Lotos nights, but never to any such as this. Furthermore, I have never been in a position where I thought, and still think it so impossible for anyone else to make a speech, following the gentlemen who have spoken—Briand and Butler.

After the oration of President Butler, there is nothing which can be said upon the ancient, mediæval or modern examples of those who have struggled and sacrificed for liberty and civilization. He described them superbly.

I have long wanted, because I have read of and watched his career with the greatest interest, to see the gentleman who has spoken to us tonight for France, but I never conceived precisely what was the source of his power. I have been a student of the source of power of American politicians and American statesmen for the past sixty-five years; and generally, I think, have been able to diagnose

TRIBUTE TO BRIAND, PREMIER OF FRANCE

them correctly; but I could not pass judgment upon this French statesman, never having heard him speak. As I heard Premier Briand tonight, I could see the Old Guard of Napoleon charging to victory. Nobody can wonder that when his enemies, and all men in public life have enemies, said: "You shall not leave the country, and you shall not go to the conference at Washington," and he, after a speech, submitted the question to the French Assembly, they said practically unanimously: "You are France; you go."

I have relations of an intimate kind with France. My ancestor, who came to America 250 years ago, was a Frenchman. I have inherited many things from him but not his language. He disagreed with his neighbors on religion, and at that period if the minority did not agree with the majority on religion, they either had to be converted or killed. My ancestor would not be converted, and I have inherited that trait. He did not want to be killed, and though there was a law prohibiting his leaving the country, he left and went over into Holland. That was the beginning of transportation in my family, and coming down through the centuries it enabled me to become Chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York Central Railroad Company.

Well, gentlemen, I will go back to early relations with France. My grandfather, at a very young age,

was a soldier in the Westchester County regiment of the Continental Army, and was stationed much of the time at that center of civilization, Peekskill-on-the-Hudson. Washington, during the seven years of the war, had to go frequently to West Point, but he made his headquarters in Peekskill. Lafayette was always with him, and I was able to hear my grandfather describe that young officer, having seen him there.

When the French army came over, Rochambeau went from Peekskill to camp for a week at Verplanck's Point, about four miles below. In his delightful history of the war, Marquis de Chastellux, giving his experience in America, said when he reached Verplanck's Point, where Washington's army was encamped, he had an attack of pneumonia, very sharp and dangerous. Washington took him personally in charge, loaned him his horse to ride and gave him plenty of Madeira wine. In a few days the Marquis recovered. I told that to a prohibition friend of mine in Washington the other day, and he said the horse cured the Marquis.

Well, my friends, I have another recollection. My father remembered very well when Lafayette, by invitation of Congress, came over in 1824. Washington was dead, and all over the country Lafayette was hailed because of his services for our independence, and because all knew how Washington loved him as a son. He received unbounded acclaim from

TRIBUTE TO BRIAND, PREMIER OF FRANCE

the old soldiers who were with him in the army, and of whom there were a few thousand left. Now remember, at that time there were only about five millions of people along the Atlantic coast, but these soldiers represented the Continental Army and had fought with Lafayette.

Now ninety-eight years go by and we have history repeating itself. Marshal Foch comes over here and instead of being only five millions we are one hundred millions. Instead of there being only a few thousands of the old Continental Army, there are four millions of the army which was raised for the purpose of saving liberty and helping France. Two millions of these went over and fought, and everywhere Foch is acclaimed as the great genius who, in consolidating the armies, carried them to victory. He is touring this country, and they never want him to return home.

I heard a Lotos man say downstairs this evening: "What a mistake it is that we have this dinner, even if the exigency demanded it, on Thanksgiving Day!" I said to him: "My friend, you are mistaken; it is the best day of all the year when we have the guest we have tonight. It is the greatest day of all the year when we recognize the mission on which he came." Three hundred years ago this day, Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts, because the hundred colonists would have starved if they had not

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

had an abundant harvest, ordered a day of thanksgiving. We have kept it up for three hundred years, and during that long time there has never been a Thanksgiving Day with such great reason for celebrating it as today.

We can cite plenty of reasons in the conditions of our country, as compared with the rest of the world, in our wealth and ability to take care of ourselves, and our ability to help the Old World. But all of it is as nothing compared with the conference in Washington, out of which we hope will come the peace of the world, and by which war and chaos may be prevented.

I made a speech on Friday afternoon, before a large audience, and in the course of the speech I said: "I read this afternoon and re-read with great interest the address made by M. Briand, the Prime Minister, at the conference at Washington on Monday." Immediately that audience arose and there were cheers after cheers. Why? Because that audience, composed of people in all walks of life, was a section of the American public, and they represented American public opinion. Their unanimous cheers at my simple mention of that speech, which they had all read, show that the American people believed in what the Premier of the French Republic said, and will stand by him.

Not long ago a distinguished statesman stated that there could be no sort of an alliance or agree-

TRIBUTE TO BRIAND, PREMIER OF FRANCE

ment or treaty by which the United States would join with Great Britain or any other of the Allies for the purpose of protecting France; that it was against the advice of Washington and the traditional history of the United States.

My friends, I say what I think, and what I believe every American thinks, and it is that we know France stands in a critical position on the borders of civilization and liberty. We know that France, in order to maintain her position and protect herself, is obliged to keep a standing army of nearly a million men. We know that the terrible burden of wars, the wars which have happened and the wars which may happen, are pressing hardships on the life, prosperity and productive power of France. We know that she ought not to stand alone. We know that the nations which fought with her, and for the same cause, ought not to leave her in a position to be attacked again.

France should in some emphatic way be assured that the American people are with her and will support her whenever she is assailed by the forces of militarism and autocracy. Then she never would be in danger. France could then demobilize her army, or reduce it to a size sufficient for home purposes and get rid of that enormous expense. She could then devote her revenues to internal developments and the civilization of the arts of peace.

I sincerely believe that there is some relation-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

ship by which those who have gone before can communicate with us. I believe that while this conference is in session in Washington there is hovering over it a company of immortal spirits. With Washington is his aide, Lafayette, who induced France to come to our assistance at the crisis of our history. There is also Rochambeau, who brought over the army which helped us to win the victory and the money which restored our credit and clothed and fed our army. There is also de Grasse, who commanded the navy. I believe that Lafayette is saying to Washington: "We want the assistance of your people in this great crisis of our nation," and I believe Washington is saying: "In my Farewell Address I gave that warning about foreign alliances which was right at that time, but two millions of our boys went over to fight in France and shed their blood with the French for the preservation of civilization and liberty. I approve of that, and I think if necessity should arise, you can be sure, my comrade-at-arms of one hundred and forty years ago, that as you stood by us then, the American people will stand by you."

This is Thanksgiving Day. It is full of glorious thoughts and recollections. I heard a speech the other day by Mr. Wells, the great English author, in which he said, "The whole world is going to smash." Mr. Wells is mistaken, the world is not going to smash. Amity, friendship, love, mutual as-

TRIBUTE TO BRIAND, PREMIER OF FRANCE

sistance are going to rule; they are going to come out of that conference in Washington, because the public opinion of the whole world is concentrated upon that conference, and will force it. I say to our distinguished guest, Premier Briand, that he can sail tomorrow for France, knowing that a hundred million Americans, no matter what their race or nationality, are behind him and his country. I wish to assure him that he can carry with him this message: If the emergency should again arise because the enemies of civilization and the friends of autocracy or militarism are crossing the borders of France, millions of American soldiers will land in France and shout as they did four years ago: "Lafayette, we are here!"

**Tribute to M. Maurice Casenave, General Secretary
of the French Delegation to the Disarmament
Conference, at the Luncheon given in his Honor
by the Lawyers' Club of New York, December
17, 1921.**

*Mr. Chairman, M. Casenave, Ladies and Gentle-
men:*

One of the powers of the great changes which have taken place, and are taking place in the world, is pilgrimage. The crusades were pilgrimages which affected the civilization of Europe and Asia. The voyage of the *Mayflower* was a pilgrimage which contributed largely to the establishment of liberty in the world through representative government. Pilgrimages are made in the Old World to sacred shrines for spiritual welfare and the recovery of health.

The great war through which Great Britain and her colonies, France, Italy and Portugal and their colonies, Germany, her Allies and her colonies have passed, involved the whole world and all races. It finally became a battle to settle whether militarism and autocracy or orderly liberty should rule the world. For two years the United States remained neutral, and was the richest and most powerful of nations. Then the pilgrimage began to our shores to secure the money and supplies so urgently needed by

LUNCHEON TO M. MAURICE CASENAVE

the Allies. These pilgrims also appealed to us on the ground that if militarism and autocracy won and conquered the rest of the world, liberty by representative government would be imperilled in our country. We enlisted, though late, but at the critical moment, and our assistance was of vital importance in the supreme crisis of the conflict.

The loans and purchases which these pilgrims secured are represented in our foreign debt of about eleven billions of dollars. Let us stop playing politics with these loans. They can be used to stabilize exchange and give the credit which is absolutely needed in Europe. Let them so be used. Our farmers are forced to sell their wheat and corn at about half the cost of raising them. Many of our factories are closed or working on part time, and thousands are out of employment. This is because Europe is unable to buy. To inventory bad debts as assets fools no one but the bookkeeper. If the free interchange can be brought about, an intolerable burden will be lifted from the world.

When the war was over, the victorious nations met in conference at Versailles. One of the most distinguished statesmen in Europe said to me during the war: "I believe that victory will be with us. What I fear most is the repetition around the council table of what has happened at previous conferences after great wars. I fear it will be a struggle, and a bitter one, among the victors

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

over the distribution of the spoils." The division occurred, and continents and islands were divided. The United States alone asked for nothing and received nothing. A world almost in chaos, Europe split up into small nations with hostile boundaries and jealousies, saw with despair the failure of the Versailles Conference to bring peace and prosperity. Then, happily, a conference for the limitation of armaments and settlements of the problems in and about the Pacific ocean was called by President Harding to meet in Washington. It was an inspiration of our President. The position of the United States was such that it alone could call such a conference, and so favorable conditions as Washington's for the meeting existed nowhere else.

In these pilgrimages to the United States, Europe and Asia have sent their ablest and best statesmen. Many of them have world-wide fame for genius in diplomacy and in oratory. We have been thrilled with speeches by Briand and Viviani, and by the wisdom, felicity and tactfulness of that veteran and foremost of English statesmen, Arthur Balfour. Our hearts have been touched by the coming to us of Marshal Foch, Admiral Beatty and General Diaz.

Among these pilgrims was a remarkable economist and a master of finance who accomplished great results without oratory and publicity, and that gentleman is our guest today, M. Maurice Casenave.

LUNCHEON TO M. MAURICE CASENAVE

He formulated the plans to raise billions in America for his country. He persuaded the American bankers to make the loans and induced our government to withdraw its objections because of our neutrality and permit the loans to be made. He is here now as Secretary and Counselor of the French delegation to the great conference at Washington.

France shows appreciation and friendship formed in our War of Independence by selecting her foremost statesmen to represent her in the United States. Among conspicuous examples are the delegations she sent here during the war and that to the Limited Disarmament Conference. The dean of the diplomatic corps is its senior because of years of distinguished service, but under continuing American administrations no diplomat has been in closer or more intimate relations with our Presidents and Secretaries of State than Ambassador Jusserand.

History often repeats itself, and there is a striking similarity between the visit which Lafayette made to us ninety-eight years ago, and the reception by his old soldiers and the civil population, and the reception given recently by the soldiers who served under his command, and our entire population to Marshal Foch. We gave Lafayette to carry back with him our love and the title to a township of land, while Foch carried back with him also our love and the degree of Doctor of Laws from

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

twenty-three of our universities, and a wildcat from the Rocky Mountains. And he left us his heart. We are happy in the thought that these degrees presented to the Marshal will be another chain binding together the United States and France.

When the French delegation, headed by Spuller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, de Lesseps, Bartholdi and others, came over forty years ago for the dedication and presentation of the Statue of Liberty, I delivered the oration. I also arranged for a train and took the delegation over the country. At Niagara Falls, Jouett, who was then an admiral in the French navy and a general in the army, paid the finest tribute to Niagara Falls ever delivered. As we stood facing the superb cataract, the Admiral said, "I have travelled all over the earth and have seen nature's wonders in all countries and climes. If there ever is an inter-universal exhibition to which every planet shall send its best, the United States will secure the first place by contributing Niagara Falls."

Our hearts and minds are with France in her trying position. She has suffered, in proportion to her population, the loss of the largest number of young men who gave their lives for us as well as for her. One-seventh of her territory, with its cities, villages, farms and factories, has been ruined. She stands alone on the border from which might come again the forces of militarism and autoeracy.

She ought not to stand there alone. She should receive reparation for her frightful losses, and she should receive such assurance by her Allies in the war that war could never be made against her, but if so, she should be protected.

The settlement made at the Washington Conference is the most remarkable evidence of the power of public opinion. Public opinion swept away the ordinary processes, delays and compromises of diplomacy. Public opinion demanded peace, disarmament and the removal of the causes for future wars. Public opinion demanded that the Pacific ocean, covering one-third of the globe, should have for its continents and islands a settlement which could redeem and justify its name. We trust these results have been gained.

Our guest leaves us with a record of accomplishments seldom achieved. His mission is not ended, and we hope he will be a factor in an economic settlement between nations by which trade, industry and mutual prosperity shall be restored.

**Speech at the National Republican Convention,
held at Chicago, Ill., June 7-10, 1916.**

(In reference to this speech, an explanation of how it came to be delivered may be of interest. I was a delegate to the convention and as such occupied my seat in the New York delegation. There happened to be an interval of about an hour when the convention had nothing to do. At such a period the crank always has his opportunity. Chairman Harding, afterwards President of the United States, saw the danger of the situation and sent one of the secretaries to me with a message to come to the platform and fill as much as possible of that hour. I refused because I was wholly unprepared and considered it madness to speak to fourteen thousand people in the hall and a hundred million outside.

Governor Whitman, chairman of the New York delegation, came to me a few minutes afterwards and said, "You must be drafted. The chairman will create some business to give you fifteen minutes to think up your speech." I spurred my gray matter as never before, and was then introduced and spoke for forty-five minutes. I was past eighty-two. The speech was a success.)

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SPEECH, 1916

(Stenographic Report)

Gentlemen of the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen in the Gallery:

I had a conversation with that great Ohioan, General Garfield, after he had been nominated for President, in which he said, "From my experience I want to give you two pieces of advice if you expect success in politics. One is never to make a speech when you are called upon suddenly, and only when you have had ample time for preparation. The other is never crack a joke or tell a story." (Laughter and applause.)

The Chairman was quite right in saying that I have been preaching Republicanism for more than fifty years. It is exactly sixty, and this is the anniversary. (Applause.) It is a marvelous thing in the experiences of life, which as a rule are not particularly inspiring, on account of age or any other reason, to have lived in the great crises of this Republic and been an active participant for sixty years. (Applause.) It seems to me that there is a similarity between the campaign of 1856 and the campaign upon which we are entering. We had one great issue in that campaign, a difficult issue, an issue of idealism and Americanism. There has been, since the formation of the Republic, a lie in our politics and political measures, in our Acts of Congress, as against the Declaration of Independ-

ence, that "All men are created equal, with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But after that campaign of 1856, and what followed by President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the Declaration of Independence stood and stands today for liberty here and all over the world. (Applause.)

Today we have a great world crisis in which, happily, we are not directly involved; a crisis in which civilization is at stake and Christianity is doubted; a crisis in which eight-tenths at least of the believing and professing Christians of the world are cutting each other's throats, destroying each other's property, burning each other's cities and villages and using engines of war, which would have been regarded as the ultimate end and height of cruelty five hundred years ago. (Applause.)

It is a fortunate thing to pass four score, if your memory is right. I remember the thrills that have come to me in my life from the assertion of Americanism backed up by America. I remember as a boy how I felt ten feet tall and having all the elements of Uncle Sam in me, as I have dreamed of him, when the news came—there were no cables then, or methods of telegraphic communication—that a man-of-war sailed into the harbor of New York with Commodore Ingraham's report that, while in the harbor of Smyrna, he had found a naturalized American, a former Austrian subject, arrested and

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SPEECH, 1916

put on board of an Austrian warship. He lined up alongside of that Austrian warship, trained his guns upon her and said, "Give me Koszta, or I will sink you." (Cries of "Good boy" and cheering.) He brought Koszta home and landed him in New York. Austria objected, threatened, but William L. Marcy, a New York statesman, then Secretary of State, sent this immortal message:

"Whoever bears the character and charter of an American is safe anywhere in the world." (Great applause.)

I remember the thrill I received—I was then a man and in public life, I was Secretary of State of New York,—when, during the period of our Civil War, that adventurer in the history of nations, Louis Napoleon, had undertaken to rule Mexico. He sent there a French army and a scion of the House of Hapsburg. He created a throne and put Maximilian upon it and violated every principle of the Monroe Doctrine. The Civil War was over. We had a million of soldiers who were trained and ready. There was just one message sent, and that was by another New Yorker, William H. Seward, (applause) who sent word to Emperor Louis Napoleon, "Get out of Mexico." (Laughter.) And he added, "General Sheridan is on the border." (Applause.) And you could have played checkers on his coat tails, as he went out of Mexico. There was no war with France,

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

and no war with Austria. The Double Eagle shut up.

I remember a more recent incident in Venezuela, when Great Britain seized part of her territory and said it was hers. Grover Cleveland sent this message, "Either arbitrate or fight." (Applause.) Great Britain arbitrated, and there was no war. When that message of Roosevelt's went to Morocco, "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead," Perdicaris was delivered the next day, and there was no war. (Applause.)

The cartoonist and vaudevillist frequently grasp and present current conditions before statesmen discover them. The curtain rose at a theatre, and on the stage were three characters: the Kaiser, Admiral von Tirpitz, he of submarine fame, and Uncle Sam. The Kaiser said to the Admiral, "Who is that man?" The Admiral replied, "Uncle Sam." "Why," asked the Kaiser, "does he look so glum?" "Because," von Tirpitz answered, "I have just swatted him on the jaw." "What did Uncle Sam say?" "He said he was too proud to fight." "Then," ordered the Kaiser, "swat him again." That Uncle Sam may have been an idealist or a psychologist, or a lover of humanity, but he was not an American. (Applause.)

My friends, as a nation we are idealists, and at the same time we are the most practical in the world. The world has always understood us—up till now. (Laughter and applause.)

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SPEECH, 1916

I received a letter a few days ago from a famous statesman on the other side, who wrote to me, "In our great crisis we believe liberty is at stake, and empires and nations are to live or die, and as we think civilization is to live or die, what is the Professor going to do?" (Laughter.) "Well," I answered, "I could have told you eighteen months ago what the Professor would do, but he changed his mind." (Laughter.)

I saw in yesterday's papers that a great American had adopted as his slogan "America first." Three weeks before this American had made it public, the Professor said, "Well, I guess I might as well take that myself, it is well known." (A loud yell from the gallery and great applause and cheering.) It is well known that for a while he said preparedness is unnecessary, and three thousand miles enough for protection. Suddenly he started across the continent preaching it louder and louder, and when he got back the Democratic Congress refused to do what is necessary for real preparedness. It is a well-known fact that there was published and placed in the hands of the printer and the newspapers, and therefore necessarily in the hands of the friends of the President, Elihu Root's speech at the opening of the Republican State Convention in New York, (applause) and that speech aroused the country to our weak and un-American foreign policy. The speech impressed the Administration, and as a re-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

sult the last note, which is the only one that has any teeth in it, was sent to Germany, but nothing has been done since. My friends, it was well known, it was announced almost authoritatively that the *Lusitania* was to be sunk. The President of the United States could have said one word at that time (applause) and there would have been no such tragedy.

My friends, we ourselves fail to see and appreciate what our country is. You need to have lived and worked in it for all the years I have to understand what it means. You want to travel abroad and meet in all countries the men who rule and govern and make public opinion, and get their idea of what our country is. All over the world, until within this recent Administration, it was understood that the United States was a potentiality of power, of arms, of money and resources, which, concentrated and put into any cause, would lead to the acknowledgement of our rights. With that potential power, all that would have been needed was an authoritative utterance to get what we wanted and prevent what we did not want. America stands for that. (Applause.)

My friends, when I was in the South the other day, I came into a little place where a New Yorker had bought a farm, and he said, "You love a good thing, and I want to tell you what happened here. Of course, in Florida they are all Democrats, but

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SPEECH, 1916

some of them don't believe in it, although they vote for it. (Laughter.) The pastor of our church resigned, and we were looking for a new minister. It was reported that a clergyman was willing to come, and one of his recommendations was that he had a library of one thousand volumes. Whereupon an old brother got up and said, "We don't want him. Too much book-learning is a handicap upon real and true religion. What we want and all we want as a library for our minister is the Bible to teach him the Gospel, his almanac to inform him about the date, and a Democratic weekly newspaper to teach him total depravity." (Laughter.)

Now, if there is one thing I cannot understand at all, it is a pacifist. As I look back, I find that they were purely English who fought at Bunker Hill and Concord. They were mostly Germans who fought with Anthony Wayne in Pennsylvania. They were largely French who fought in South Carolina, and they were my own good, old, solid Holland Dutch who fought in New York under Schuyler, Herkimer and the rest. Americanism in 1776 and Americanism today do not differ in any respect, except the size and volume of the word. (Laughter.)

Now what is a pacifist? I turn to the exponent—I believe he is here—and I think the greatest exponent is my friend, Mr. Bryan. (Applause.) Mr. Bryan presents a solution, as I read it, for what might happen. You know it has been developed in

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

the mechanism, the experience and the wonderful inventions of this war, that an army carries guns which will shoot five miles and hit within a radius of two feet. The target is indicated by an aeroplane overhead, and the exploding shell will destroy a whole regiment, a brigade or almost a town. They carry mitrailleuses which will sweep all before them for miles, and yet I understand the pacifist argument to be that if by any chance three or four hundred thousand of these highly trained troops, with these highly specialized methods of destruction, should land upon our shores, a million Americans in Ford machines would meet them and drive them off. (Laughter.)

That reminds me of an old joke of mine, and while I am charged with chestnuts, they are generally my own, and I think it fully applies to the gentlemen who would be in those Ford cars. A Ford machine is like a bathtub, everybody wants one but nobody wants to be seen in it. (Laughter.)

Well, my friends, just a word about the old-fashioned, hard-pan Republicanism. I preached it sixty years ago, I have preached it ever since on the stump and from the platform, in halls and in churches all over the country. We do not grasp how rich we are. We don't grasp what a prize we are. You remember that when Blücher, the famous German commander, who helped Wellington to win the battle of Waterloo, was taken over to England to visit the

king, the only remark he made, while riding through London, was, "What a town to loot." We do not appreciate what a country we have to loot. When this war closes there will be millions of trained soldiers ready for anything, without conscience and without principles, wanting to get something. If they thought America could be squeezed, America would be squeezed without regards to scraps of paper. But I do not fear an invasion of the country if the Republicans can get into power and properly prepare. (Applause.)

I have something to say about the Japanese. I know all about them, because sixty years ago I was appointed Minister to Japan. (Applause.) Japan then had no navy but junks, no troops, except those with spears and arrows and armor, and no universities. Today they are among the foremost powers of the world. Among their institutions they have a sovereign and call him Emperor; they have a House of Lords, corresponding to our Senate, and an Elective House, like our House of Representatives. But while those fellows do what they can, they have over them a body which governs and whose decisions are final. They are called the Elder Statesmen. Now, gentlemen, I want to say to you that if you get in trouble or in a hopeless conflict and wish a solution that will save the country, here is an elder statesman. (Great applause and laughter.)

Speech at the National Republican Convention,
held at Chicago, Ill., June 8-12, 1920.

(I also had a personal experience in this convention. During the interval the crowd suddenly began calling for me. I had no prepared speech, but fifteen thousand faces and just as many voices giving uproarious welcome both steadied and inspired me. Though I was past eighty-six years of age, my voice was in as good condition as at forty, and was practically the only one which did fill that vast auditorium.)

(Stenographic Report.)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, and Ladies and Gentlemen who influence the Convention: (Laughter and applause.)

I am not on the Committee on Resolutions, and I do not know that I have anything to offer which will be instructive to you, but when a man has reached my time of life he is inclined to reminiscence and to make comparisons between the old and the new.

Senator Lodge says that I am an old man. He is mistaken. (Laughter and applause.) I had the greatest compliment of my life given me a few weeks ago when I made a speech in the South. The

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SPEECH, 1920

next day I received a letter from a gentleman from the breezy West. "I heard," he wrote, "your speech last night, and they tell me that you said you were past eighty-six. Well, all I have to say is that you are either a miracle or a d—d liar." (Laughter and applause.)

Now, my friends, I cannot help contrasting this convention with another, and it is the one which nominated Abraham Lincoln the second time. It was a convention in which only half of the country was represented. The contrast is that here the whole of our glorious country is represented. (Applause.) In that convention every delegate had either taken part in the war or had, as had everyone else, suffered in the war. All women were in black, in mourning for lost friends.

We meet here today after another war, but the situation is entirely different. We have won this war. The Civil War was won for Union and liberty. This war has been won for liberty and civilization. But, my friends, there is this difference: While we came out of that war with a debt of three billions, as to which we were in doubt whether it could ever be paid, we came out of this war with a debt of twenty-six billions and taxes such as were never heard of before. Those three billions were raised and paid. The debt was reduced so that nobody felt it, and our country went on, united, to a prosperity never before known, never even dreamed of

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

by the fathers. And it was done under Republican Administrations. (Applause, loud and prolonged.)

In order to understand the present crisis, to settle the critical questions which are before us because of the conclusion of this conflict, to meet this terrible burden of debt and taxation, and to carry it easily, we must have that experienced statesmanship which carried us through this first crisis to the success that all Americans hold dear and to all that Americans value. (Applause.)

My friends, I cannot help recalling the difference between the Washington of today and the Washington during Lincoln's Administration. I think I am one of the few men living who were there during his Administration, who saw and met him and the members of his Cabinet. I was there as Secretary of State of New York, a very young man, in order to get the soldiers' vote from New York. I was the most popular man in Washington at that time, because of all the men and women who were there, I was the only one who wanted nothing. (Laughter and applause.) All I wanted was to know where the soldiers from New York were in order to get their votes for the Administration. Talking with Lincoln, dining with Seward, discussing the situation with Chase, seeing often and quarreling with the Secretary of War, who was the worst tempered man I ever met, I got the atmosphere of that period. The atmosphere differs from that of

the present period in this respect: Every one of those Cabinet members was a statesman of national and some of international repute. Every one of them had views of his own outside his office, and inside his office was the best man for the position. Every one of them, except Seward, was hostile to the President. Not one of them had a mind that ran on the track with the President. (Laughter and applause.) And yet, Mr. Lincoln managed them all for the best interests of the country, putting into the round hole the round peg and into the square hole the square peg, until he carried the people with him to that success which makes us meet here to-day, not only a united party but a united country. (Applause.)

My friends, we have had a singular experience during the last seven years, something I have not known in my sixty-five years talking for Republicanism. This is not the first time the United States had to go abroad in order to meet foreign nations. We went abroad immediately after the Revolution. Washington knew better than any one else in the country what was required to make peace with Great Britain. But he did not go himself. He sent the Chief Justice of the United States. (Applause.) We had a controversy with France which required settlement. Jefferson knew more about it than any statesman in the country. But he did not go himself. He sent a great jurist from

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

New York, and a great statesman from New England. What did they do? They brought back Louisiana, out of which has been carved eight States. (Applause.) We had a controversy about the Oregon boundary, but the President did not go himself. He selected the greatest brains, the greatest constitutional lawyer there was or ever has been in the country. What did he do? He brought back Oregon. (Applause.) Then we had a later controversy because of the war with Spain. McKinley knew more about it than anybody else. But he did not go to Europe to settle it. He sent two Justices of our Supreme Court, two United States Senators of opposite parties, and a great journalist. And what did they do? They brought back the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, along with the independence of Cuba. (Applause.)

When we came to the settlement of the recent World War, our President said: "Nobody understands this question but myself. Nobody can properly represent the people of the United States but myself. I will go abroad." He went abroad and brought back the League of Nations. (Laughter and applause.)

You know the secrets of that conference, that famous conference, of the Four Great Powers, are leaking out. I had a sympathy for our President in that conference. He was dealing with the ablest men in the political, the diplomatic, the interna-

tional game in the world. He was a babe confident of himself. And what happened? Why, those great gamblers in international politics said to him: "What do you want, Mr. President? You are the greatest man in the world, and you speak for every one of your people; what do you want?" He answered: "I want a League of Nations which will make this round globe look like a heaven, of which I will be the recording angel." (Laughter and applause, long continued.)

These astute old players said to him: "All right, Mr. President, that is the most magnificent proposition ever offered." Said Lloyd George, "I would like to have the German possessions in Africa, just to settle the Negro question there." "All right," said the President. (Laughter.) And Hughes, that shrewd Irishman from Australia, whom I know well, said, "Mr. President, it is a luxury for a man from the Antipodes, to meet such a great man as you. That scheme of yours for a League of Nations is simply magnificent. But Australia wants German New Guinea, which is close to us." And Wilson said, "Take it." (Laughter.) Then came forward Clemenceau and he said, "We need coal; we need iron; we need the Saar Valley and we need the Ruhr Valley." The President said, "Take them." (Laughter.)

Then came Sonnino, and he said, "We want Fiume." Precisely what there was in the mentality

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

of the Chief Executive of the United States that made him object, I do not know, but he said, "You can never have Fiume." It so happened that nobody there had ever heard of Fiume. (Laughter.) Nobody knew where Fiume was, whether it was one of the Sandwich Islands or a fixed star. (Laughter.) And so they adjourned for three days to find out. When they met again, our President, with that consistency which is characteristic of him, said, "I will not surrender Fiume."

About that time I was visiting the little village where I was born, Peekskill-on-the-Hudson. I always go to the center where the village statesmen used to gather and sit on the counter, on the nail kegs and the flour barrels and discuss the situation. The leader of them said, "Chauncey, we down in this neighborhood don't care a rap for Fiume." (Applause.)

Well, my friends, the League of Nations is here. The situation is here, and no man is big enough, no man is eloquent enough, either by tongue or pen, to add anything to the magnificent description of our needs and of our conditions which was given by our temporary and permanent chairman, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. (Applause.)

I have been traveling through the South, and I had this unusual experience. Man after man came to me and said, "I am a Democrat, always have been a Democrat, but Mr. Wilson has taken away every

principle of the Democratic Party, everything I learned from Washington, from Jefferson or from Monroe. I want you to nominate a good man and to win." (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, that sentiment is universal among Democrats, because they do not know where they are or where they stand. They have fallen into an unhappy frame of mind. It is a misfortune to a man, to a nation, to the members of a party when they stop thinking and let somebody else do it for them. (Applause.) And so the Democrats in the House and the Senate prevented the two-thirds majority necessary to overcome the President's veto and repeal of the war measures which gave autocratic powers to the President. They prevented a budget system giving a possibility of paying our national debt, all because they were ordered to do so by the President, and did no thinking for themselves. (A voice: "Mr. Wilson does all the thinking for the Donkey.")

But, my friends, I think that during the summer millions of those Democrats will decide to vote our ticket in order to get relief, and if they do not vote it, they are in the position illustrated by a delightful story I once heard from our old friend James G. Blaine. (Applause.) He said, "The reason certain people will not do certain things is that they are like my old friend Isaiah Smith of Bangor. They had a revival in Bangor, and Smith, who was any-

ON THE THRESHOLD OF NINETY-TWO

thing but a church man, went from curiosity. From the rear seat he got to the middle of the church, and from there he got under the pulpit. One of the deacons came to him and said, 'Isaiah, you seem to be convinced and converted. Now is the time to join the church.' Isaiah said, 'Deacon, I am convinced and converted, but I am in a woman scrape and cannot join just now.' " (Laughter and applause.)

But, my friends, we all here can sing Glory Hallelujah. We are all convinced and converted. We all belong not only to the Republican church, but to that church which means unity, civilization, liberty and good government. (Applause.) We are all here to do our best, without any prejudices or any passions which would carry away our judgment. As a veteran of fifty-six years at conventions, as a veteran of sixty-four years on the Republican platform, I ought to have in a way the gift of prophecy, and I prophesy that out of this convention will come wisdom, both in platform and nomination; and out of this convention will come enthusiasm, going to every part of our country, so that one and all, the whole nation, will stand up for the principles of the fathers, for the principles of Lincoln, for the principles of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. (Applause, loud and prolonged.) And the result will be the salvation of our country, our taking a proper place in the League of Nations, independent,

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION SPEECH, 1920

with our Constitution preserved, and our taking the proper place in the affairs of the world as dominant in all those things which lead to liberty, to civilization, and the unity and peace of mankind. (Cheers and applause, loud and prolonged, the convention rising to its feet.)



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Marching on, miscellaneous speeches on t



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